WHY NANTUCKET QUAKERS

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

DEVELOPED FROM AN EARLIER WORK ENTITLED

NANTUCKET MONTHLY MEETING

BY ROBERT J. LEACH

Books on Nantucket are very numerous. Those dealing with the eighteenth century and earlier much fewer. In fact only a handful are really useful. For me the single most useful work is the five large volumes of the Vital Records of the Town of Nantucket to 1850, Boston, Eddy Town Record Fund, 1925-1928. This exhaustive compilation of births, marriages and deaths allow for the reconstruction of families on the Island. It was prepared by personnel of the New England Historical Genealogical Society, who had access to the Quaker membership records as held by Nantucket Monthly Meeting in West Warwick, R.I., at that time. The copies which I have were put in my possession on permanent loan in 1942 by Henry Foster, Clerk of the Monthly Meeting, who received them from the Genealogical Society in return for the data being made available. Thus in fact the collection is being used to promote the study of Quakerism on Nantucket. Against this the genealogical tables (partial) compiled by Alexander Starbuck in his History of Nantucket County Island Town, Boston, G. E. Goodspeed, 1924 are useful. And the work itself is the best general work on Nantucket, though sketchy for the 18th century. The Ms. "A Record of the Births, Deaths, Receptions, Disownments and Removals alphabetically arranged in the Society of Friends on the Island of Nantucket", 1792-1944, is an invaluable volume now on permanent loan at the Nantucket Historical Society, in its vault in the Peter Foulger Museum in the town of Nantucket itself. It was copied from an earlier volume 1716-1792, also in the same vault, and apparently later used by the "Hicksite" Meeting from 1831 to 1846. Records for the intervening years dealing with those of later Hicksite persuasion were entered from 1792 to 1831. This volume was apparently donated to the historical society in the early 20th century, by a descendant of the last Hicksite Clerk.

The best general source for American colonial Quaker history, is Rufus M. Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931. James Bowden, History of the Society of Friends in America, London, Charles Gilpin, 1850, two volumes, is useful for specific data on 18th century Quaker personalities. Finally my own Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends, Wallingford, Penna, Pendle Hill, 1944, offers as clear a check-list of superior Meetings in America as is to be found. William C. Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, London, Macmillan and Co., 1921, gives the clearest picture of British Quakerism from the death of Fox onwards till modern times. John Gough, History of the People called Quakers, Dublin, Robert Jackson, 1789, four volumes, serves in Britain as Bowden does to Jones in the American scene. As for Martha's Vineyard and its general background Charles Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, Boston, 1911, two volumes, is the standard work. It contains genealogical material which dovetails with that

in the standard Starbuck work. The best book by far on 17th century Nantucket is Florence B. Anderson, Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin, Boston, Meador Publishing House, 1940. The Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston has some useful material bearing on the early period, for instance the Ms. "Order for arrest of certain persons attending a Quaker Meeting in Boston on the 16.I.1673/74" is useful for noting Stephen Hussey's Quakerism. Also there are notes by Franklin B. Hough on Massachusetts documents to be found in the New York State Office in Albany, made in 1855. Similarly situated is the letter of the Governor of Massachusetts to the Governor of New York, on 26.VIII.1692. In the vault of the Nantucket Historical Society is found the Ms. "Mary Starbuck Account Book with the Indians, begun in 1662, Nathaniel Jr. continued it", 1683-1768. The above entry was made by Lydia (Starbuck) Macy in 1718 when she was but 14 years of age, when employed by her uncle. This is in effect the second volume, continued probably by Tristram Starbuck after his father's death in 1753. With it is the unbound Ms., "Account Book for Nathaniel Starbuck Store", 1696-1735. Its pages contain an unexploited account of the growth of the early whaling industry - to which Mary Starbuck's account book, also unexploited, adds much more. There is also a Ms. account of the building of the "Parliament House" in this vault prepared by Lyman Greeman. The vault probably contains much of great value, but has only been partially catalogued. In the Town House on Nantucket are kept Mss records which are similarly valuable. Volume one of the County Records, 1659-1768, contains the minutes of the Proprietary from 2.VII.1659 on the Mainland, first held on Nantucket from 15.VII.1661. The first Town Meeting as such is listed from 1696 when William Gayer took office. This book is entitled "Records of Nantucket 1663 -." "The Second Book of Records", 1660-1711 actually contains general Court proceedings from 1673 to 1698. It is followed by "The Book of Records commenced May 9, 1700", containing court records from 1701 to 1721. As with most 17th century Mss records the contents must be thoroughly explored, as titles to books are often inaccurate. Finally attention might be drawn to a minor secondary source for the period; William F. Macy, Story of Old Nantucket, Cambridge, Mass., Riverside Press, 1928.

William B. Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1891, is a turgid text but contains much data not otherwise available. Roy Akagi, Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies, Philadelphia, Univ. of Penna Press, 1924, is useful in giving interpretation to this and other data from the point of view of local government. For material on Dartmouth Quakerism, the Old Dartmouth Historical Sketches offer some useful data, particularly number 70, Ann G. Lowry "Quakers and their Meetinghouse at Apponegansett": less important number 3, dealing with the Slocumb family. The Vital Records of Dartmouth to 1850, a single volume work similar but much smaller than the five volume work on Nantucket offers some material on vital statistics. For Sandwich Quakerism, Ezra Stiles, "Origin of the Quakers at Sandwich, Massachusetts" in the Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, Philadelphia, VIII,

is most useful. In the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia is to be found one Ms. "A catalogue of the names of Publick Friends who have visited Nantucket since the year 1698", started by Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. in 1716, and kept after his death by other members of his family. A number of copies of this list have been found. Three are in the vault of the Nantucket Historical Society; three fell into the hands of the Gurneyite group of Friends. The list serves as the basic source of visitors. There is a limited Gurneyite version as well. Some visitors missed out are sometimes listed in the minutes of the Monthly Meetings, or rarely found in Mss letters as such. Until 1760 or so the lack of Mss diaries and journals on Nantucket is extraordinary. Thus the historian of this period has to search far afield for scraps of information by which to reconstruct the age. Reference to Thomas Turner and most of the British Friends who visited Nantucket is to be found in Joseph Besse, Collection of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers, London, Luke Hinde, 1757, two volumes. Thomas Chalkley left his Journal of Thomas Chalkley, a Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Friends Book Store, N.D. as did others; John Richardson, Account of the life of that ancient servant of Jesus Christ, John Richardson, Philadelphia, William Dunlap, 1757; Thomas Story, Journal of the life of Thomas Story, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Isaac Thompson, 1747. Piety Promoted in seven volumes, edited by William and Thomas Evans, contains references to a number of visitors chiefly Philadelphians. This work was published in Philadelphia in the middle of the 19th century. Similarly is John and Isaac Comly, Friends Miscellany, in eight volumes. More important is the Friends Library running to fifteen volumes, and in which several useful biographies appear. This work was issued by a committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, orthodox, at the same time as the Miscellany. It can be observed that fully 90 percent of Quakeriana published in the United States is based on Philadelphia. For Rhode Island Friends, T. W. Arnold, Vital Records of Rhode Island to 1850, Narranganset Historical Publication, 1895, in three volumes is most useful as is the W. P. A., Inventory of the Church Archives of Rhode Island, Society of Friends, Providence, R.I., 1939. Arnold's vital records were also published in Providence. In the Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, number 40, Mrs. William B. Buffum, "Story of the old Friends Meetinghouse", gives background on the original sponsors of the Nantucket Meeting in Newport. For instance, Ebeneezer Slocumb was 19 when convinced of Friends' principles, 31 when Conanicut Meeting was founded, 46 at his first acquaintance when he first went to Nantucket, and 55 when he presented the request for a Monthly Meeting to be set up on that Island, and Jacob Mott Sr. died in 1711, just as the first Quaker Meetinghouse was built on Nantucket, when he was aged 78. His son Jacob Mott Jr. married Mary Easton, daughter of Governor John in 1714, as Governor Walter Clarke died aged 77. Joanna Mott died in 1728, while her son lived on till 1767, dying on a religious trip to the New York Yearly Meeting area. John Estaugh died on Tortola in 1742 while visiting there. He was captured by pirates in the West Indies in 1705 in company with Ruth Fry who died a spinster in 1733, at the home of her sister Sarah (Fry) Leach. Peleg Slocumb's father, Giles Slocumb, was one of the early pillars of Portsmouth R.I. Meeting, founded in 1658, and acquiring its present Meetinghouse in 1707. That on Conanicut Island

is likewise still in use, but the Newport Friends built a new structure in the 20th century deeding the old building, very much enlarged through the years to the city, which then used it as a recreation center. It is now restored, and is in the possession of the Newport Historical Society. In fact meetings for worship are now regularly held there.

The Bulletin of Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia (now called Quaker History) is also a very useful source. Volume Seven contains an account of John Kinsey written by Isaac Sharpless. Volume Two contains some reference to "Some old families of Wrightstown Township" by W. P. Hazard. In the Nantucket Historical Museum are found some Mss accounts of Nantucket houses. One such is Lyman Greeman's "Nantucket Houses of Historic Interest", 1943. More useful is Edouard Stackpole!s"Rambling through the old town of Nantucket". I spent the entire summer of 1947 on Nantucket, part of the time I checked the "ancestry" of dwellings with Edouard Stackpole. In 1970 I again spent the summer on Nantucket. Edouard Stackpole presented me then with his fourth edition of Rambling Through the Streets and Lanes of Nantucket, New Bedford, Reynolds - Do Walt, 1969, which I have carefully checked against earlier materials. And I spent the summer of 1976 again on the Island and at that time procured Clay Lancaster's invaluable Architecture of Historic Nantucket, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1972. To cover more general background for the age, I have used the following: Oliver P. Chitwood, History of Colonial America, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931; Smith, History of Nova-Caesarea or New Jersey, Philadelphia, W. S. Sharp, 1877; Mary Stanard, Colonial Virginia its people and Customs, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1917; Albert B. Hart, Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, New York, 1928; Lawrence Gipson, Southern Plantations and Northern Plantations, Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton, 1946; and not least Samuel Morrison and Henry S. Commager, Growth of the American Republic, New York, O.U.P., 1942, Volume One. In the Quaker field attention should be drawn to Frederick B. Tolles, Meetinghouse and Countinghouse, Chapel Hill, U.N.C.P., 1948. Having noticed both microcosm and macrocosm at this point, attention should be turned to visitors again. For Fox's visit to the colonies, George Fox, Journal of George Fox, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1911, is best. Joseph Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, Philadelphia, Joseph Cruckshank, 1753, two volumes, is good for tracing obscure British names as is the smaller anonymous, Brief Account of many of the persecutions of the people called Quakers, London, J. Samuel, 1736. Samuel Bownas, Account of the life travels and Christian Experience in the work of the Ministry of Samuel Bownas, Philadelphia, William Dunlap, 1759, is an original source. Samuel Sewall, Diary, New York, Macy-Macius, 1927, is interesting for parallel Puritan activity. John Fothergill, Account of the Life and Travels in the work of the Ministry of John Fothergill, Philadelphia, James Chatto, 1754, is a less valuable work. John Rutty, History of the Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers, Dublin, I. Jackson, 1751, is useful for Irish Friends. On some occasions the Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association throw light on the early period - for instance the 1922 issue does. The Philadelphia Friend is similar - note volume 28 number 34. Thirdly of similar usefulness is the Journal

of Friends Historical Society, London, volume six. Finally attention should be drawn to Zara Klain, Educational activities of New England Quakers, Philadelphia, N.P., 1927.

The two outstanding sources for Quaker activity on Nantucket are the Monthly Meeting books: viz. "Monthly Meeting Book of Friends", Volume I, 1708-1772, and "Monthly Meeting Book of Women Friends", volume I, 1708-1787, kept in the vault of the Nantucket Historical Museum. They are supplemented by other records kept for New England Yearly Meeting at the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence. These include "Records of the Yearly Meeting of New England", Volume I, 1683-1787; "Records of Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders for New England", volume I, 1707-1797; "Records of Quarterly Meeting", volume I, 1706-1783; "Rhode Island Select Q.M.", volume I, 1701-1769. Apparently women Friends held no Yearly Meeting till well into the 18th century. The Ms. "Minutes of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting", volume II, 1676-1739, kept at the Newport Historical Society are useful for tracing the extensive Nantucket connections in the early period. Apparently their women held no meetings of record till 1714. The minutes of Dartmouth, Greenwich and Sandwich Monthly Meetings are in the main collection of Quaker records in Providence.

A good biography of George Keith, the anti-Quaker leader at this time is Ethyn W. Kirby, George Keith, New York, Appleton-Century, 1942. James W. Howes, Thomas Howes of Yarmouth, Mass., Yarmouthport, C. W. Swift, 1917, gives some of the Nantucket background with the Cape. The Journal of Friends Historical Society, London, is useful for many biographical sketches, as is the large Dictionary of National Biography, an American publication. At the Friends' Library in London are to be found extensive Mss collections, and a useful card catalogue of entries. Also in the minutes of London Yearly Meeting (Mss) are to be found the accounts of a number of Quaker visitors to Nantucket. William W. Hinshaw, Encyclopaedia of American Genealogy is a massive work of some usefulness in tracing visitors. The Journal of F.H.A. XV, number 1 contains "The Travels of William Baldwin in America". For marriage records the Ms. "Book of Marriage Certificates of Nantucket Monthly Meeting, volume I, 1709-1755, is very useful.

Henry J. Cadbury, deals with John Farmers first American Journey, Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, 1944. Benjamin Holme left a Journal, Collection of the Epistles and Works of Benjamin Holme, London, Luke Hinde, 1754. Also my own - Robert J. Leach, "Quaker Intruders on Martha's Vineyard", Vineyard Gazette, 4.VIII.1942 (reprinted in the Dukes County Intelligencer, VI, number 3, 1963) is good for covering the Farmer-Holme period. Some articles in the Friends Intelligencer, Philadelphia, particularly "Then and Now", written by Henry J. Cadbury have been used. The Ms. "Genealogy of Gardner and allied families", as well as this was in the possession of Grace Brown Gardner of Nantucket but this is now in the vault of the Peter Foulger Museum. Another less useful work is Orrin P. Allen, Allen Memorial, Palmer, C. B. Fiske and Company,

N.D. Similar is Charles N. Sinnett, Richard Pinkham of Old Dover, Concord, Rumford Printing Press, N.D. Thomas Woody, Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey, Philadelphia, University of Penna. Press, 1923, which gives data on a few visitors from that State. Similarly my own, "Concord Q.M. of Ministers and Elders", Bulletin of F.H.A., Spring, 1949, covers some in Pennsylvania and Delaware. The London Y.M., Collection of Testamonies Covering Several Ministers of the Gospel, 1760, applies to British Friends. Lydia S. Hinchman, Early Settlers of Nantucket, Philadelphia, Ferris and Leach, 1901, contains a printed list of visitors - somewhat incomplete. Obed Macy was the great collector of historical data on Nantucket. His immense amount of unpublished materials stored in the Nantucket Historical vault need to be studied in extenso.

Two Mss items which were prepared by Annie Rose of Sandwich M.M. are useful for background material. They are entitled "Materials toward the history of Friends in New England" and "Account of Sandwich M.M." In the Atheneum on Nantucket a scrapbook prepared by a man called Sanford has some interest. Samuel M. Dudley, Nantucket Centennial Celebration, Nantucket, R. B. Hussey, 1895, similarly so. Charles H. Jones, Genealogy of the Redman Family, Philadelphia, Allen, Lane and Scott, 1886, gives some account of that Newport family. Another slight work is William C. Folger, Folger Family, N.P., N.D. Yet another is Charles Estes, Estes Genealogy 1097-1893, Salem, Eben Putnam, 1894. More impressive is Alexander S. Starbuck, History of the American Whale Fishery, N.P., 1878. Of great value is Edouard Stackpole, Sea-Hunters, New York, Bonanza Books, 1953. Paul Starbuck, "Account Book for the Keeping of Sheep on Nantucket" Ms. at the Nantucket Historical Society needs further searching out. Elizabeth F. Barker, Barker Genealogy, New York, Frye, 1927, is of some value. Will Gardner, Coffin Saga, Cambridge, Riverside, 1949, is far more useful. Benjamin Holme, Collection of Epistles, London, Luke Hinde, 1754, has occasional interest. Similarly Silvanus J. Macy, Genealogy of the Macy Family, Albany, Munsell, 1868. James Coffin, "Probate Records" Ms. kept at the Nantucket Atheneum gives clue to estates and their settlement. In the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia are the only known letters of Nathaniel Starbuck. Edward R. Snow, Pirates and Buccaneering, Boston, Yankee, 1944, is most revealing. Much less value attaches to Harry B. Turner, Nantucket Argument Settlers, Nantucket, N.P., 1944. Finally Henry B. Worth, Nantucket Lands and Landowners, N.P., N.D., has more than marginal value.

Anna Hodgson, "Some Rhode Island Quaker Records" in the Bulletin of F.H.A., I, number 2, throws light on the increasing flow of visitors from the metropolitan center, as does Charles H. Jones, Genealogy of the Rodman Family, Philadelphia, Allen, Lane and Scott, 1886. New England Yearly Meeting Memorials of Deceased Friends, Providence, Knowles and Vose, 1841, is a similar source. Alfred R. Justice, Jeremy Clark of Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Franklin Printing Co., N.D. is also parallel. The Ms. "New England Yearly Meeting Book of Testimonies", volume I, in the Rhode Island Historical Society offers other clues. One clear item is a Ms. letter of Timothy White,

3.IX.1731, in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. Allan Forbes, who was President of this Society was personally helpful in locating materials for me. For the Cape, Joshua C. Howes, Genealogy of the Howes Family, Yarmouthport, N.P., 1892, gives some light. The Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, number 40, gives other clues. Harriet B. Warren, Trustrum and his grandchildren, Nantucket, N.P., 1881, is of limited appeal.

The Ms. book "Christian and Brotherly Advices", 1756, in the Museum vault on Nantucket is the source for Query materials.

The only account of Nantucket Meetinghouses is my own, "First two Quaker Meetinghouses on Nantucket", Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association, 1951, pp. 24-33. The most valuable source for Elihu Coleman's anti-slavery pamphlet is Thomas E. Drake, "Elihu Coleman, Quaker Anti-slavery Pioneer of Nantucket", appearing in Brinton, Byways in Quaker History, Pendle Hill, 1940.

The first volume of Probate Records, "Probate Records for Nantucket County", 1706-1736, is most useful for giving clues to family estates on the Island. This volume is kept in the Town House, as is "The Towns Book of Records to enter Births, Marriages and Deaths" - in point of fact covers Town Meetings from 1696 to 1783. The registers of Deeds are mostly unexplored Vol. III, 1701-1721, and Vol. IV, 1721-1740. The Court Book 1721-1785 is also of great interest. I have used it extensively.

WHY NANTUCKET QUAKERS?

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPT USED 1-END

New England Yearly Meeting, the supervisory body, of which Nantucket Monthly meeting was a part (except for the Hicksite Branch from 1831-1846) was apparently formed in 1683, when the general meeting for New England (formed in 1660) resisted the proposition to become a part of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; then evolving as equal to London Yearly Meeting, the senior Quaker parent body. In any case, the minutes of New England Yearly Meeting begin in 1683. This body consisted of two Quarterly Meetings - one in New England, the other on Long Island. It also was limited to men. Sessions were held in Newport (later partly in Portsmouth) Rhode Island for three days each summer (sixth month - June.) The first minute book runs from 1683 to 1787, a book of some 451 pages; its covers sheepskin. The title on the outside cover reads "Records of the Yearly Meeting of New England." This record I have perused carefully from 1708, when Nantucket Monthly Meeting was created (by a committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting that year) to its conclusion. It reveals that Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting (as it came to be known, which started in 1681, two years before the yearly meeting) dominated the "superior body" quite clearly for a full century at least. To Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting (which almost always met at Newport and Portsmouth) went the Nantucket representatives, (if any did) and from that Quarterly Meeting to Yearly Meeting a handful of Nantucketers were sent with others as representatives to Yearly Meeting. Apparently Yearly Meeting was supposedly attended in the 18th century on occasion by upwards of 5,000 men but the Meeting House seated only about 1,250, however. Most of these were either members or attenders in Newport and Portsmouth and possibly as well in the nearer Rhode Island meetings (all originally part of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting itself) but after 1699 divided into Greenwich, Rhode Island and Dartmouth Monthly Meetings. Only a handful came from a wider orbit. Nantucket's share fell to its clerk, Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., who certainly was on hand most years from 1709 to 1743. In fact he managed to be present at least at 24 yearly meetings in this period of 35 years. Nathaniel Gardner (who died in 1714) arrived at one. Starbuck's nephew, Nathaniel Coleman appeared in 1736 and shared honors thrice with his uncle. In 1745 Coleman attended a last time, to be replaced by David Gardner (four times from 1753 to 1757 in the midst of the great Commons Case) and then by Elihu Coleman, Nathaniel's brother (thrice 1750-1764) and once by Richard Mitchell. After 1763 the old pattern of New England Yearly Meeting began to evolve. It met for longer periods and got more effectively to grips with the colonial world in which it was a part. In 1760 Jonathan Macy began his long career as successor to Nathaniel Starbuck as the Nantucket friend at Yearly Meeting at least till 1783. William Rotch not infrequently joined him in that service, as did Benjamin Barney Jr. In 1775 a meeting for sufferings that is, an executive committee for the yearly meeting, was formed, reflecting the commotions associated with the American Revolutionary War. In 1777 the war itself prevented Yearly Meeting gathering on Rhode Island. Smithfield (Providence) was therefore selected. Obviously Rhode Island Monthly Meeting could no longer dominate the Assembly. In fact the old type "laissez faire" yearly meeting was permanently disrupted. In 1778 Daniel Starbuck attended and in 1779 Seth Gardner and Peter Barnard appeared. In 1781 William Mitchell and Silvanus Gardner were the two new faces. In 1781 the Quarterly

Meeting representatives nominated the clerk of the yearly meeting for the first time, and in 1783, as Yearly Meeting moved back definitively to Newport and Portsmouth (it had been there in 1780) Samuel Rodman joined the list of new Nantucket Friends on official Yearly Meeting duty. That year the Annual Assembly discontinued the General Meeting for worship which it had established on Nantucket in 1708, as Sandwich Quarterly Meeting had come to be held at that time (that is the end of sixth month-June) on the Island. Actually this event was linked to the decision of 1781 that Nantucket Monthly Meeting be transferred from Rhode Island to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting and it was this latter body in its summer session which replaced the General Meeting. Not only this, but Samuel Rodman (William Rotch's son-in-law) had become clerk of Yearly Meeting in 1783. It was true he had been raised in Newport, but now Nantucket had won a dominant place in the noonday sun of the old Quaker capitol. Jonathan Macy completed his 19th yearly meeting in this period of 23 years (1760-1783). Up to this point Nantucket had been the scene of recurring land ownership crises, an annoyance rather than an inspiration to the Yearly Meeting Friends. All this changed. And in 1787 the old minutes book was finished. The second book of similar size (461 pages) is a lovely tooled calfskin product of 18th century art. Its title reads "Yearly Meeting Records from 1788-1819 inclusive is 32 years". (Its very appearance marks the heyday of New England Quakerism. An assistant clerk was named the first time in 1787. The clerks in 1788 were William Rotch Jr. (then of New Bedford Monthly Meeting) and Daniel Starbuck naturally of Nantucket.

The minute book of the meeting for sufferings running from 1775 to 1793 is of a sheepskin, smaller than the first Yearly Meeting volume, numbering 322 pages of which 282 covers through the year 1789. Jpnathan Macy was among its founding members, but attended sessions only at Quarterly Meeting times. In fact, Rhode Island Friends dominated the Meeting for sufferings as they had Yearly Meeting. In 1776 William Rotch, Seth Gardner and Paul Greene became associated with Sufferings. Only three times in fact, were Sufferings held outside Rhode Island in this period. These were in 1783 in Lynn, Mass., then at Long Plain just outside New Bedford (at the time of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting,) and in New Bedford in 1784. Here the dominant personality of Moses Brown seemed to inhibit too much Nantucket participation. It should be pointed out that the meeting for Sufferings was a male meeting.

As for women Friends, they tended to be limited to the yearly meeting Book of Testimonies or accounts of worthy deceased Friends. This vellum covered book entitled " Book for Recording Testimonies belonging to the Yearly Meeting of Rhode Island for New England of 170 pages (1761-1841) begins with Mary (Gardner) Jenkins "a zealous woman" of Nantucket and then goes on to Priscilla (Starbuck Coleman after Deborah (Coffin) Macy "a virtuous woman," was inserted. There were only six testimonial records before 1763. No memorial appeared from 1762 to 1767 and it wasn't 'till 1781 that another Nantucketer was given a place. He was Joseph Mitchell of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting (who had moved to Newport from Nantucket. In 1810 Mary (Callender) Mitchell, who was moved in the opposite direction to the island was given a place. But no reference was made to Nathaniel Coleman nor to William Rotch. Nantucket comes off poorly indeed.

The Women's Yearly Meeting started only in 1764 at which time the minute to open the one-day meeting read: "At our annual preparative meeting of women Friends" which clearly indicates - if nothing else - a spirit of subserviance to men Friends. In 1765 this gathering first received Quarterly Meeting reports and in 1767 met for sessions on two different days. That year Rachel Hussey Coleman was obviously a Quarterly Meeting appointee. In 1769 she was joined by Hephzibah (Folger) Hussey and Abigail (Starbuck) Howes-Way. Then in 1771 Lois (Gorman) Macy and Sarah (Folger) Gardner-Barker made their way to Nantucket. And the next year Elizabeth (Barney) Rotch was on hand. Only in 1775 was the right granted by men Friends to women Friends to prepare their own travelling minutes for women ministers, though in 1766 they had dropped the perjorative adjective "preparative" from the title of their gathering. And in 1775 they met for three days revealingly the minutes for the first thirteen sessions occupy the back end of a small vellum minute book of 120 pages otherwise devoted to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends!

The second volume - if it can be so styled - is of similar size but of tooled chamois and boasts a title "Yearly Meeting Book of Women Friends beginning 1777" This book of 274 pages runs to 1805, some 97 pages cover the story through 1789. The opening minute notes the attendance of Sarah Barney . In 1779 Mary (Gardner) Gardner appeared, and in 1780 Mary (Starbuck) Mitchell and Lydia Macy. This was the year the women's meeting authorized their clerk to buy this minute book and copy in the minutes of the four years preceding! In 1781 the women were consulted on the transfer of Nantucket Monthly Meeting to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. Then in 1783 Keziah Starbuck joined the Yearly Meeting women. But still no one woman could have been called a Yearly Meeting friend in the sense that Nathaniel Starbuck and Jonathan Macy were.

There was in addition, of course, the select Yearly Meeting of Ministers and elders. That was founded in 1707. And its records are contained in a thin vellum volume entitled "Records of the Yearly Meeting for Ministers and Elders for New England" and runs 'till 1797. Pages 1-139 (of a book of 193 pages) runs through 1789. In its early period, this gathering was obviously male as it was drawn from the Yearly Meeting. There were female ministers and elders, but without a yearly gathering! So much for the myth of Quaker sex equality! Not until 1761 were any representatives named, so it must be presumed that Nathaniel Starbuck and company attended though we have no proof. In 1761, 1763 and 1764 Elihu Coleman appeared. In that latter year two sittings were established (as became general for most Yearly Meetings). No one is reported to have been present from Nantucket until 1771 when Jonathan Macy attended. Perhaps Nantucket Friends boycotted the select meeting in the interests of the distaff sex, certainly in 1773 Ann Mitchell second wife of Joseph was a representative. And in 1774 Sarah Barney was militantly present. In 1779 Mary (Barney) Macy and Mary (Starbuck) Mitchell, Paul Greene, and Shubael Coffin were all on hand. William Rotch was named in 1782 but was absent. And in the final year of the war, Hezekiah Starbuck made his debut at the select meeting. Some like Hezekiah were not listed at the regular Yearly Meeting sessions. Obviously he was not a representative there and quite as obviously he was present at the General Sessions. By the end of the war a group of Nantucket Friends both men and women were obviously in attendence at Newport and Portsmouth. To summarize the records of

the yearly meeting are to be found in seven volumes presently kept in the Rhode Island Historical Society vault, in Providence.

In turning to Quarterly Meeting connections with Nantucket, it should be pointed out that Long Island (Westbury Quarterly Meeting) was set off as New York Yearly Meeting in 1695. In 1699 the three monthly meetings of Greenwich, Rhode Island and Dartmouth (the first and last then created) formed Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting. Then in 1705 the monthly meetings in Northern Massachusetts and in New Hampshire became Salem Quarterly Meeting. Thus in 1706 the remnant of the old New England Quarterly Meeting on the Cape and near Plymouth took the name Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. However, the minute book of the original Quarterly Meeting was inherited by Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting - or perhaps more accurately it should be stated that the original record (or its copy) was inserted in the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting Men's Minute Book - a medium sized vellum book entitled "Records of the Quarterly Meeting of Rhode Island from 1681 to 1746 inclusive." Also in this volume are to be found listed the sufferings of New England friends from 1688 to 1720. (This was in fact a Yearly Meeting prerogative.) As New England Yearly Meeting joined Nantucket Monthly Meeting to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting, the first Nantucket representatives appeared in seventh month - July 1708. They were Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., and his brother-in-law Nathaniel Gardner. Sessions were held in tenth, first and fourth months as well (October, January and April). As attendance was uncertain the habit developed of sending an epistolary report to Quarterly Meeting and for Quarterly Meeting to return the courtesy. Collections of these epistles are important for Nantucket Quaker history. Those sent to Nantucket are found in the Peter Foulger Museum there - those from Nantucket in the Rhode Island Historical Society Archives in Providence. Generally the first month session was missed out to winter weather. But it must be said that attendance and attention to Quarterly meeting on the part of Nantucket was minimal at best. In fact, Quarterly Meeting on more than one occasion complained of this oversight. Quite frankly Nathaniel Starbuck attended so the record goes only to five Quarterly Meetings, though he served on many epistolary committees. Other attenders up to 1733 included Barnabus Starbuck, John Coleman, Jethro Starbuck, Stephen Coffin Jr., Batchellor Hussey, Nathaniel Coleman, John Macy, Benjamin Barney, and Elihu Coleman. Obviously Quarterly Meeting service was wider than that for Yearly Meeting. In 1746 "The Second Book of Records of the Quarterly Meeting on Rhode Island," 1746-1782 was started - a leather bound middle sized book of little distinction. (254 pages). According to the record Jethro Folger who first attended in 1741 was active in 1755 when the queries were first formally answered, and also for the extended Quarterly Meeting gatherings dealing with the Great Commons case in 1759. Other Friends at Quarterly Meeting during the middle years included David Gardner, Benjamin Coffin Joseph Marshall, Richard Mitchell, Silvanus Hussey, Barnabus Coleman, Richard Macy, Jethro Coleman, Philip Pollard and William Hussey. Then from 1763 to 1781 (when Nantucket Monthly Meeting was transferred to the care of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting) Matthew Barnard, Joseph Marshall Jr., Matthew Macy, Jonathan Macy, Daniel Macy, Nathaniel Gardner third, William Rotch, Silvanus Starbuck, Richard Worth, Stephen Macy, Seth Gardner, Silvanus Gardner, Christopher Starbuck, William Mitchell, Shubael Coffin, David Starbuck, Peter Barnard, Peleg Coggeshall, Daniel Starbuck, Seth Mitchell and Hezekiah Starbuck were drawn into service. Thus in the early period eleven served, in the second period eleven new Friends appeared, and in the third period, 21 new names were drawn in making a total of 43 men on Nantucket at Quarterly Meeting.

The Women's Quarterly Meeting began in 1706. Their vallum covered book has been cited in connection with the first thirteen women's Yearly Meeting sessions. This primitively kept record does throw light on women's sessions as for instance in 1731 Dorcas Gayer Starbuck and Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck were named to attend a Women's Yearly Meeting session. This must have been a precourser to that which became regular in 1764. This bit of startling news is not helped by the fact no minutes were entered from 1726 to 1729 and none from 1731-1763. These oversights give evidence of carelessness not in keeping with traditional Quaker perfectionism. In 1764 the Women's Quarterly Meeting decided to gather at the rise of the Select Quarterly Meeting which might indicate indeed agreement that women ministers and elders could attend that gathering. A decade before this was achieved for Yearly Meeting. In 1765, Rachel (Hussey) Coleman was first named to attend the Women's Yearly Meeting. In 1766 Abigail Starbuck Howes-Way served on an epistle committee. Both these worthies were so active in 1767. In 1768 Sarah Barney followed suit and Priscilla (Coleman) Bunker and Lydia (Macy) Coleman were the official Nantucket representatives. By 1770 Elizabeth (Barney) Rotch had put in an appearance. Lois (Gorham) Macy and Mary (Barney) Macy followed in 1771. Mary (Clasby) Ray was new in 1773 as was Mary (Starbuck) Macy-Gardner. In 1774 it was the turn of Elizabeth (Mitchell) Emmett and of Abigail (Hussey) Coffin-Starbuck. In 1775 the women rapped the men's Quarterly meeting across the knuckles for forgetting to tell them of a change of locale. Then in 1776 Elizabeth (Folger) Gardner-Barker attended followed by Sarah (Long) Gardner in 1777. Mary (Pinkham) Coffin made her debut the next year. In 1780 it was Hannah (Paddack) Gardner's turn. And in the final year Judith (Coffin) Macy and Sarah (Fish) Coggeshall were available. At least TEN Nantucket women Friends were added to the two traditionally key women of the first period. But of the second period we have no knowledge. This book runs on until 1783, but by then Nantucket had been transferred to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting.

The Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders was formed in 1708 (as was, of course, Nantucket Monthly Meeting). There is a record of the "two" Nantucketers being named in the summer of that year to this meeting but though representatives names were called from 1711 onward, they were not so listed. Again it may be presumed to have been a man's meeting 'till 1764 as no woman is listed in the slight vellum book which covers minutes from 1708-1769 - 180 pages of them. Jethro Folger was there in 1763, Elihu Coleman in 1764, Barnabas Coleman in 1715, Nathaniel Coleman in 1767 and then the minutes run out. At least in 1764 the select Quarterly Meeting informed the select Proparative meeting on the Island the query answering (to the select queries) was anything but satisfactory. The second book of minutes of the select Quarterly Meeting (1767-1804) is missing. It has been possible, however, to reconstruct - at least in part - the actions of this Meeting from the extensive collection of select epistles sent out from Nantucket Select Preparative Meeting, notwithstanding the years 1768 and 1774 are missing in their entirety, three reports are missing from 1769 and 1770, two from 1767, 1771, 1776 and one each from 1772, 1773 and 1781. Thus 1772, 1775, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1790 are in full form (summary 23 missing, 41 to hand). In other words, nearly two thirds of the record is available. (Parinthetically probably a good average for many Quaker meetings). From the 41 epistles we learn that Barnabas Colman was clerk of the proparative meeting of ministers and elders at least from 1771 on when he succeeded Elhiu Coleman who had the post from 1751. It is illuminating in 1775 that the Nantucket

reports were so sparse that the Quarterly Meeting wrote to ask if "disunity" were not characteristic of the Island scene. In reply, Barnabas Coleman indicated most of the ministers and elders were too old to travel. In 1777 some odd copies of Select Quarterly Meeting Minutes appear. They indicated that Jonathan Macy and Seth Gardner were in attendance and in 1778, Shubial Coffin, Mary (Starbuck) Macy-Gardner and Sarah (Long) Gardner. These two women friends plus Peleg Folger and Lois (Bunker) Long-Barney were named to enquire into the Free Quaker split in Dartmouth Meeting. This affair gave Nantucket Friends a kind of inverted respectability. And when Jonathan Macy finally signed the report on Dartmouth in 1779, Nantucket Monthly Meeting had become a pillar of orthodoxy. In 1780 Peleg Folger succeeded Barnabas Colemen as clerk of the Select Preparative Meeting. It would appear that Rhode Island Select Quarterly Meeting was not a very vital force. And in point of fact, only two more minute books are so added, plus the 41 epistles (of these 13 are extracts of minutes) to fill out the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting record. (Full examination of all epistolary correspondence would, however, seem to be indicated as a task which should be undertaken.

Involvement as such with Quarterly Meeting in a serious way began only in 1781 with the transfer of Nantucket to the care of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. It is strange that the Island meeting had been attached to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting when geography argued only in favor of Sandwich. In point of fact, Sandwich held but two constituent monthly meetings: Sandwich and Pembroke - and the latter was very small. Nantucket Monthly Meeting was more than twice as large as the other two meetings put together. Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting on the other hand was composed of ten Monthly Meetings at the time Nantucket transferred out in 1781. As it happened Nantucket missed both the Autumn and Winter sessions of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting (probably because of weather which drew a cry of reproachful alarm from Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. In 1782 the first session of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting was held on the Island but in due season when some mainland Friends found it impossible to get to the Island, they in turn were reproached in a lively manner. It did Nantucketers good for them to have others understand the transportation problems were great on the Island. William Rotch, Poluc Coggeshall and Paul Gardner all attended the initial session of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. In the Spring of 1782 the Nantucket Men's representatives ran to five. In 1783 the first regular clerk of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting was named in the person of Samuel Rodman. Hitherto the local Monthly Meeting clerk had served as Quarterly Meeting clerk. In fact minutes were entered in Volume 2 of Quarterly Meeting records, a large vellum-covered book dating from 1679. At that time this book (without any title) began "At a yearly meeting" in 1679. This was the business session of New England Quarterly Meeting which was then held at Sandwich. In 1683 the Meeting book was called a "half-years," gathering and in 1686 a Quarterly Meeting. Not until 1706 did this body emerge as Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. Pages 118-197 are devoted to the period 1781 to 1789 inclusive, and mark a complete reinvigoration of a very old institution.

Similarly the records of the Women's Quarterly Meeting for Sandwich were kept in an even larger sheepskin volume (1701-1886). The section devoted to the 1781-1789 period run only from pages 22 to 36. The earliest part was recopied into this volume. When the Women's Quarterly Meeting was created, the area covered was the whole of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. This was only divided the year after the meeting for worship got going on Nantucket. Mary (Clasby) Ray, Lois (Corham) Macy, Sarah (Jenkins) Hussey and Elizabeth (Barney) Rotch were the first representatives named to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting in the

summer of 1781, in fact, half of those appointed. Among the items first discussed was the proposition to set up a select Quarterly Meeting that is, for Sandwich Quarterly Meeting had let hers lapse. (Pembroke had, in fact, no Preparative Meeting of ministers and elders.) In this case, no permanent clerk was named by obviously new life was infused.

The rebound small minute book of the Select Quarterly Meeting entitled "Records of the Select Quarterly Meeting of Sandwich"1741-1792 covered ministers and elders from 1741 to 1755, from 1771 to 1778 (irregularly) and from 1780-1792. The initial gathering was held at the summer Quarterly Meeting of 1781 with 12 persons attending (4 from Nantucket, 3 from Sandwich, plus 5 visitors). Yet the meeting moved slowly. No record of the years 1782-1784 occur. But then the new life bore fruit but still no presiding clerk was appointed. The total of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting books thus rises to five for the first three periods of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. In other words, a total of a dozen manuscript volumes must be consulted to estimate the outreach of Nantucket Quakerism from 1708-1789.

The lions' share of manuscript sources on the history of Nantucket Monthly Meeting are to be found in the Historical Association vault in the Peter Foulger Museum on Nantucket, not in the Rhode Island Historical Society headquarters in Providence. Here the first volume of importance is the first smallish vellum book, No. 1 "Minutes of the Men's Monthly Meeting", "The Monthly Meeting Book of Friends on Nantucket" 1708-1772, 1-247 pages. This is followed by Volume 2 "Records of Nantucket Monthly Meeting," 1772-1789. 1-380 pages. This book is bound in chamois and is larger than the first. It cannot equal the very elegant engraved chamois Volume 3 which follows from 1789 to 1824 the time of greatest activity.

CONCLUSION OF THE NOTES ON MANUSCRIPT SOURCES USED 1-44

Meanwhile, Volume 2 is supplemented by "A Book of Records for Testimonial of Denial, Acknowledgements Received or Accepted, etc." in sheepskin, 1776-1813, 181 pages, of which 1-88 covers the period through 1789. No preparative meeting books have survived (if any were kept). The exception to this was for Dartmouth, Nova Scotia Preparative Meeting the second subordinate meeting in that Province attached to Nantucket. Its rather nondescript minute book begins in 1786 and runs for 107 pages to 1798 most of which time lies outside the scope of this period. Dartmouth met irregularly, gathering but once before the 1789 dividing line.

The Women's Meeting which began functioning a month after the men in 1708 used a single fair sized leather bound minute book from its inception entitled "The Monthly Meeting Book of Women Friends" 1787 pages 1-279. This book is definitely secondary to the two men's books. Volume 2 without title is a smallish embossed suede book running 1787-1813, being the first of six new minute books initiated on Nantucket in the 1787-1794 period. Only pages 1-21 are of importance to this period of history. Of vastly more importance is the alphabetically arranged membership book of tooled leather, large size, started in 1792 by Christopher Starbuck and Charles Bunker. A similar book was initiated in 1814 for the Northern District Monthly Meeting set off in 1794. (It too had two extensive minute books - one for men - one for women - for the 1794-1829 period). This new Monthly Meeting also had a book of marriages. The original Monthly Meeting initiated the first of these in 1723. This book of 56 pages was finished in 1755. A second runs from 1755 to 1817, that is pages 1-331 are useful - whereas the book runs 459 pages in all - a hefty volume, by any judgement.

In addition to these official Monthly Meeting books - ten in all useful to 1789, there are a few specialized manuscript sources. First there are the booklists with lists of visiting friends. The oldest of these kept by Christopher Starbuck ends in 1792, when the North Meeting House was built. It declares itself to be a copy of one kept by Nathaniel Starbuck (and now at the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia.) Three copies are also found in the Nantucket Vault, not very useful for the 1708-1789 period. The manuscript journal of Obad Macy contains a list of "Public Friends" on Nantucket which though incomplete is very interesting.

In the Nantucket Town and County house are to be found three sets of useful collateral material. For probate records one turns to Volume 1, 1706-1736 "Probate Records for Nantucket County," a large vellum book, which is followed by a similar book - Volume 2, "Book of Probate Records" 1737-1762, and by a third "Three Book Probate Records for the County of Nantucket" 1762-1789. Volume 4, 1789-1804 runs mostly outside this period. As for town records, the first volume has a two-way entry. One side is called "The Town's Book of Records For to Enter Births, Marriages and Deaths." The other covers town meetings from 1696 to 1783. The second volume begins in 1784 and runs to 1807. In fact only 1-22 pages of the book apply to the 1789 period. This volume lists marriages in opposite direction so that after page 198 the book must be turned upside down. The County Court book "Records of Nantucket 1663" is a volume running from 1659 to 1696. Volume 2 contains general court

records from 1673 to 1698. Opposite are County records 1660-1711. Volume 3 is vellum book dealing with court records from 1701 to 1721. Volume 4 is for registering deeds from 1721 to 1740. Volume 5, 1740-1757, Volume 6 1759-1763., etc. The "Court Book" begun in 1721 is of great interest. It concludes in 1785 when it runs into a second set of marriage registrations running in the opposite direction. Volume 2 extends from 1786 onwards, but only 1-46 pages serve this period. If one omits the Book of Deeds, there are nine manususcript books of great subsidiary value to the 1708-1789 period. Thus a grand total of 36 manuscript books form the basic sources from which these tapes are compiled.

Summary of first ten tapes comprising ten profiles of six men and four women Friends as follows:

PREFACE - Tape One, Side One, 1 to 57 on the recorder dial.

INTRODUCTION - Apologia pro Nantucket recording the personal involvement of the author with the Mayhew Church of Marthas Vineyard, with Nantucket, its Quakerism and Quaker records. Dial 57 to 439, Tape One, Side One.

Chap. I - PETER FOLGER, 1618-1690, - Benjamin Franklin's grandfather, minister of Mayhew's Church, unpaid minister on Nantucket who prepared the soil for the Quaker message. Dial 400 to end, Tape One, Side One, and 1 to 96, Tape One, Side Two.

Chap. II - MARY STARBUCK, 1645-1717, - First white woman to marry on Nantucket, baptized by Peter Folger, founder of the Nantucket Friends Meeting when almost elderly - the first great female figure on the island. Dial 97 to 468, Tape One, Side Two.

Chap. III - MARY SLOCOMB, 1662-1737, - Daughter of the first New England Quaker, Christopher Holder, Dartmouth M.M. member, who insured that Quaker leaders included Nantucket in their care as long as Mary Starbuck lived. Dial 1 to 171, Tape Two, Side Three.

Chap. IV - THOMAS STORY, 1662-1742, - Penn's deputy for Pennsylvania, who actually got Mary Starbuck to start Nantucket Friends Meeting in 1704, leading to Monthly Meeting status in 1708. Dial 171 to 346, Tape Two, Side Three.

Chap. V - STEPHEN HUSSEY, 1635-1718, - George Fox's convert, half-faithful Nantucket Quaker who revived the land ownership quarrel of the 1670s and was disowned for his pains in 1717. Dial 347 to end, Tape Two, Side Three, and 1 to 116, Tape Two, Side Four.

Chap. VI - JUDITH WILCOX, 1678-1760, - Much married head of the women's meeting, whose life allows for understanding of the Nantucket Quaker establishment and its maintenance of the land monopoly. Dial 116 to 362, Tape Two, Side Four.

Chap. VII - NATHANIEL STARBUCK, 1668-1753, - Mary Starbuck's son and mens' clerk, whose life work was to create the phenomenal Nantucket Meeting and its great meetinghouse; and to finance whaling. Dial 363 to end, Tape Two, Side Four, and 1 to 305, Tape Three, Side Five.

Chap VIII - DORCAS STARBUCK, 1675-1747, - First women's clerk, daughter-in-law of the founder, advocate of womens rights at the time the Quaker discipline and education got started. Dial 306 to end, Tape Three, Side Five, and 1 to 271, Tape Three, Side Six.

Chap. IX - BATCHELLOR HUSSEY, 1678-1760, - Son of Stephen, inheritor of the North Shore-Nantucket traditional connection, who founded the first off-island colony in Maine in 1737. Dial 272 to end, Tape Three, Side Six, and 1 to 252, Tape Four, Side Seven.

Chap. X - JOHN MACY, 1675-1751, - Grandson of the founder of the Nantucket settlement, who demonstrated how spiritual integrity could deal with race relations and finance. Dial 252 to end, Tape Four, Side Seven, and 1 to 177, Tape Four, Side Eight.

TABLE OF CONTENTS of first ten profiles. Dial 178 to 275, Tape Four, Side Eight.

SECOND TABLE OF CONTENTS (373-end)

INTRODUCTION - Nantucket Congregational Church members in 1791, an annotated list; Dial 275-500 Tape Four, Side Eight.

Chap. XI - JABEZ BUNKER, 1678-1750: Cousin of John Macy, whose family offered an opportunity to examine the comings and goings of Quakers to and from the island; Dial 1-end, Tape Five, Side Nine, and 1-8, Tape Five, Side Ten.

Chap. XII - MATTHEW JENKINS, 1691-1758: Who married a cousin of John Macy, and whose family allows for examination of new patronymic groupings coming into Nantucket Meeting; Dial 9-465, Tape Five, Side Ten.

Chap. XIII - JABEZ MACY, 1683-1776: Brother of John Macy, son-in-law of Dorcas Starbuck, who proved to be the real scapegoat of the great Commons Case of 1755-1761; Dial 465-end, Tape Five Side Ten; also 1-end, Tape Six, Side Eleven; and 1-272, Tape Six, Side Twelve.

SECOND TABLE OF CONTENTS: Dial 372 to near end, Tape Six, Side Twelve.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Dial 1-end, Tape Seven, Side Thirteen; and 1-144, Tape Seven, Side Fourteen.

Chap. XIV - PAUL STARBUCK, 1694-1759: Son of Nathaniel, "crown prince", whose death and that of other Starbucks, ended suddenly the control of the first Quaker family of Nantucket; Dial 145-end, Tape Seven, Side Fourteen; and 1-138, Tape Eight, Side Fifteen.

Chap. XV - LEAH PADDACK, 1701-?: Peter Folger's great-granddaughter, whose life revealed how the growth of whaling, held back by war, led to a second off-island colony in Barrington, Nova Scotia; Dial 138-end, Tape Eight, Side Fifteen; also 1-end, Tape Eight, Side Sixteen; and 1-41, Tape Nine, Side Seventeen.

Chap. XVI - DAVID GARDNER, 1708-1798: A great-grandson of the original Nantucket Quakeress, Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, overplayed his hand and was disowned, so as not to inherit the key Quaker position on the island; Dial 42-end, Tape Nine, Side Seventeen; also 1-end, Tape Nine, Side Eighteen; and 1-282, Tape Ten, Side Nineteen.

Chap. XVII - JETHRO STARBUCK: Brother of Nathaniel, husband of Dorcas, grandson of Tristram Coffin, the first magistrate, model 18th century Quaker, who lived to see the Commons Case resolved; Dial 282-end, Tape Ten, Side Nineteen; also 1-end, Tape Ten, Side Twenty; and 1-287, Tape Eleven, Side Twenty-one.

Chap. XVIII - NATHANIEL COLEMAN, 1697-1783: Peter Folger's great-grandson, Mary Starbuck's grandson, the Nantucket Quaker minister, whose family left Meeting, while Nathaniel emigrated in 1776 to help a fourth off-island colony in New York.

FINAL NOTE ON TABLE OF CONTENTS 450-466

Chap. 20.	Elihu Coleman (as before indicated) dial 325-End tape, Twelve side 24. 1-End, Tape 13, Side 25, and 1-271, Side 26.
Chap. 21	Benjamin Coffin - 1705-1780 in which Dorcas Starbuck's nephew trained up the youth of the Island and formed its first bank. Dial 272-End, Tape 13, Side 26, 1-End, Tape 14, Side 27, and 1-43, Side 28.
Appendix	Nantucket Monthly Meeting membership in 1718, Dial 44-395, Tape 14, Side 28.
Epilogue	Dial 396-449, Tape 14, Side 28.
Final Table of Contents.	Dial 450-466, Tape 14, Side 28. Attention is drawn to the fact that the numbers given in the tables of contents are based on dialing 1 to 500 per half hour as recorded by a Sony casette recorder.

This concludes Robert J. Leach's recording "First Twenty-One Profiles" on the subject "Why Nantucket Quakers?"

SECOND INTRODUCTION - MEMBERS CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH 1791

1. Margaret (Whitney) Barnard, aged 43, daughter of John (I), widow of Robert Jr.(V) who was disowned by Quakers in 1766 when they married.

2. Lucretia Barrett, possibly daughter of Deacon Samuel, possible aged 25.

3. Deacon Samuel Barrett, aged 51, on-comer, married to Sarah (Manning) Barrett, possible daughter of David (III), in turn possible granddaughter of Hannah (Gorham) Manning, one-time Nantucket Quakeress.

4. Dr. John Bartlett, aged 61, on-comer, married to Lucretia (Stewart) Bartlett, aged 50, (possibly she was the Lucretia referred to under No. 2).

5. Lucretia Bartlett (see No. 4)? on-comer from Amherst, Conn.

6. David Baschard, aged 71, on-comer, his wife:

7. Elizabeth (Woodbury) Hussey-Baschard, aged 64, daughter of Nathaniel (I) and Abigail (Coffin) Woodbury (of Sunset Hill), widow of Reuben Hussey, one-time Nantucket Quaker (great-grandson of Mary Starbuck) whom she married in Boston in 1744.

8. Essex Boston, (black), aged 46, on-comer, married to Tabitha (Cuff) Boston, also on-comer.

9. John Brock, aged 53, son of Thomas (I) and Patience (Gardner) Brock (V); great-great-grandson of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner (by great-grandfather minister Nathaniel); widower of Ann (Bunker) Gardner, (granddaughter in turn of Stephen Coffin Sr).

10. Margaret (Gardner) Bunker, aged 43, wife of Elisha (V), daughter of Caleb (V), great-great-granddaughter of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner (by great-grandfather minister Nathaniel); great-great-granddaughter of Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin (by great-grandmother Mary (Austin) Gardner, also daughter-in-law of the first Sarah Gardner; cousin of John Brock.

11. Anna (Lock) Burrell, aged 31, wife of James (I), on-comers.

12. Hannah (?) Calder, aged 38, wife of George, daughter-in-law of Ruth (Coffin) Calder in turn sister of Deacon Josiah Coffin.

13. Lydia (Hooten) Chapman (?), aged 38, wife of William, also member, sister of Susannah Whiteus, ditto, daughter of on-comers.

14. William Chapman, aged 40, husband of Lydia, member, on-comer.

15. Abel Chase, aged 72, son of James (III), brother-in-law of John Brock, member, great-grandson of original anti-Quaker Captian John Gardner.

16. Dinah Clark, aged 75, unmarried granddaughter of Thomas Clark, one-time Quaker elder, by his first non-Quaker marriage.

17. Abigail (Coffin) Coffin, aged 48, sister of Deacon Josiah, widow of Elias Coffin Jr. (No Quaker ancestors on either side).

18. Abigail Coffin, aged 27, daughter of Joseph Coffin and Elizabeth (Jillings) Coffin, member, from Newbury; he great-grandson of Tristram Coffin Jr.

19. Benjamin Coffin, aged 20, son of Jonathan Coffin, member, in turn son of Jethro (III) of Sunset Hill, and of Sarah (Fosdick) Coffin, member.

20. Caleb Coffin, aged 52, son of Ruth (Coffin) Coffin, member, and the late Cromwell (IV), through mother great-great-grandson of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner.

21. Elias Coffin, aged 19, son of John (V), grandson of Elias Sr. (IV), through mother Elizabeth (Coffin) Coffin, great-great-grandson of John Swain, first Nantucket Quaker.

22. Elizabeth (Jillings) Coffin, aged 55, wife of Joseph, mother of Abigail, member, on-comer.

23. Elizabeth (Palmer) Coffin, aged 43, wife of Joseph Jr. (VI), on-comer.

24. Jeanette (Coffin) Coffin, aged 45, sister of Deacon Josiah (V) and Abigail Coffin, members, wife of James Coffin Jr. (V), great-grandson of Captain John Gardner, the anti-Quaker.

25. Jonathan Coffin, aged 45, father of Benjamin, member (VI), husband of Sarah (Fosdick) Coffin, great-great-granddaughter of Mary Starbuck and of Sarah Austin of Dover, N.H., (Quaker ministers) and great-great-great-granddaughter of Sarah Gardner (thus ancestor of Benjamin - see above).

26. Deacon Josiah Coffin Jr., aged 63, brother of Abigail and Jeanette as observed above, leading Congregationalist member, husband of late Judith (Coffin) Coffin, great-great-granddaughter of Stephen Coffin Sr.

27. Mary (Davis) Coffin, aged 70, wife of John Coffin Jr. (grandson of Jethro (III) of Sunset Hill) and great-great-granddaughter of Sarah Gardner the first Nantucket Quakeress.

28. Priscilla (Bunker) Coffin, aged 88, widow of Joshua (IV) of non-Quaker ancestry, daughter of late Peleg (III) and granddaughter of Stephen Coffin Sr.

29. Priscilla (Coffin) Coffin, aged 68, widow of Jonathan Coffin Jr., sister of Deacon Josiah (V), Abigail and Jeanette (husband of non-Quaker ancestry.)

30. Ruth (Coffin) Coffin, aged 75, widow of Cromwell (IV), mother of Caleb (see above) member.

31. Sarah (Fosdick) Coffin, aged 46, wife of Jonathan (V) member, and mother of Benjamin, member, daughter of Benjamin (II), on-comer. (See above).

32. Eunice (Coffin) Coleman, aged 49, wife of Joseph Jr. (V), daughter of Ruth (Coffin) Coffin, member, sister of Caleb (V).

33. Margaret (Caleph) Cook-Coggeshall, aged 44, wife of Paul Coggeshall, also Congregational member though from Quaker family in Newport, R.I., mother of Joseph Cook Jr., member also, daughter of Elizabeth (Fitch) Caleph, deceased, in turn great-granddaughter of Mary Starbuck.

34. Paul Coggeshall, aged 41, husband of Margaret Coggeshall, member (see above), brother of late Cornelius Coggeshall, and of Mary Coggeshall, members transferred to Nantucket Monthly Meeting from Newport Meeting of Quakers.

35. Joseph Cook Jr., aged 19, son of Margaret Coggeshall, member, father on-comer.

36. Edward Dixon, aged 40, husband of Sybil (?), on-comers.

37. Amy(?) Gardner(?), aged 26, wife of Thomas, on-comers, (blacks).

38. Elizabeth (Gardner) Gardner, (?) [died 1781], wife of Joshua Gardner (V), daughter of Peter (IV) and Elizabeth (Coffin) Gardner, he great-grandson of Sarah Austin, and great-great-grandson of the original Sarah Gardner; she granddaughter and great-granddaughter similarly through Major John Coffin of Edgartown.

39. Grindall Gardner, aged 45, husband of Judith (Wimpenney) Gardner, son Caleb (V) and Abigail (Gardner) Gardner (through her grandson of minister Nathaniel Gardner, and through him descended from Peter's Quaker ancestors above - but a generation further on).

40. Hephzibah (Aldrich) Clark-Gardner, aged 45, wife of Peleg Gardner (VI), member, daughter of Ichabod Aldrich, and Elizabeth (Gardner) Aldrich, sister to Abigail (Gardner) Gardner above.

41. Judith Gardner, aged 18, daughter of Uriah (VI) and Sally (Tilden) Wendell-Gardner, member, great-granddaughter of minister Nathaniel, granddaughter of Ruth (Bunker) Gardner, one-time Quaker member.

42. Mary (Gardner) Newell-Gardner, aged 76, wife of Shubael (VI), daughter of John Gardner Third (IV) and Priscilla (Coffin) Gardner of Sunset Hill; husband grandson of Damaris (Gayor) Coffin.

43. Peleg Gardner, aged 45, husband of Hephzibah Gardner, member, son of John (V) and Kezia (Coffin) Gardner, he grandson of minister Nathaniel; he grandson of master of Sunset Hill.

44. Priscilla (Coffin) Gardner, aged 86, widow of Abel Gardner (IV), daughter of James (III), sister of Ruth Coffin, member.

45. Thomas Gardner, aged 26, husband of Amy(?), member (black).

46. Hagar ?, aged 40 (black).

47. Mary (Calef) Hussey, aged 63, widow of Obed (IV), sister of Margaret Coggeshall, member, husband son of clerk Silvanus Hussey.

48. Hannah Hutchinson, (?) aged 40, sister of Jane (Hutchinson) Manning, member, on-comer.

49. John Jillings, (?) aged 40, brother of Elizabeth (Jillings) Coffin, member, on-comer.

50. Eunice (Knowles) Kidder, aged 45, wife of Stephen Kidder Jr., member, on-comer from Vineyard.

51. Mercy (Godfrey) Kidder, aged 81, wife of Stephen Sr., and mother of Stephen Jr., member, on-comer.

52. Stephen Kidder Jr., aged 49, husband of Eunice, son of Mercy, both members.

53. Hannah (Jones) Allen-Lambert, aged 69, widow of Zaccheus Lambert, daughter of Thomas (I).

54. Priscilla (Swain) Long, (?) [died 1783], wife of Barnabas Long, daughter of Eliakim (IV) and Elizabeth (Arthur) Swain, husband son of Sarah (Skiffy) Long, Quaker.

55. Thankful (Jones) Long, aged 74, wife of Daniel, brother of Barnabas, sister of Hannah Lambert, member.

56. Jane (Hutchinson) Manning, aged 45, sister of Hannah Hutchinson, member, wife of Isaac (III) whose grandmother Hannah (Gorham) Manning was sometime member of Nantucket Friends.

57. Hannah (Calder) Moores, aged 33, wife of Jonathan Jr. (II) and daughter of Samuel (I) and Ruth (Coffin) Calder, niece of Deacon Josiah Coffin, sister-in-law of Hannah (?) Calder, member; husband great-great-grandson of Sarah Gardner.

58. Abigail (Clark) Morselander, aged 76, wife of Cornelius, on-comer, daughter of John (III), sister of Dinah Clark, member.

59. Abraham Pease, (?) [died 1786], wife Mary (Jones) Pinkham-Pease sister to Hannah Lambert and Thankful Long, members; probably son of Matthew (VI) and Mary (Butler) Pease.

60. Dr. Elijah Pease, aged 48, brother of Abraham probably wife Phebe (Russell) Pease, granddaughter of Deborah (Macy) Russell, member of Meeting, and great-great-granddaughter of John Swain also.

61. Lydia (Myrick), Coffin-Hopkins-Proctor, aged 55, wife of James (I), on-comer, daughter of Isaac (I) and Deborah (Coleman) Myrick.

62. James Ramsdale, aged 33, husband of Jedidah (Folger) Ramsdale, disowned in 1782 for marriage, she daughter of Jethro Folger Jr. (all siblings also disowned).

63. Jane (Coffin) Bunker-Ramsdale, (?) [died 1778], wife of Jonathan (I), daughter of Ebeneezer and Eleanor (Barnard) Coffin, sister-in-law of Ruth Coffin, member.

64. Rachel (Swain) Ramsdale, (?) [died 1790], widow of John (II), daughter of Eliakim (IV) and Abigail (Coffin) Woodbury-Swain, half-sister of Priscilla Long, member, on-comer.

65. Ebeneezer Rand, aged 46, son of Caleb (I), on-comer, wife Hannah (Waters) Rand, member, on-comer.

66. Hannah (Waters) Rand, aged 45 (see above).

67. Phebe (Gardner) Rawson, aged 61, mother of Deacon Wilson Rawson, daughter of Abel (IV) and Priscilla Gardner, member, sister-in-law of Elizabeth Gardner, member (wife of Paul II).

68. Deacon Wilson Rawson, aged 37, wife Ursula (Gardner) Rawson, in turn daughter of Caleb (V), half-sister of Grindall Gardner and Margaret Bunker, members.

69. Dr. Benjamin Tupper, aged 71, on-comer, wives Elizabeth (Ellis) Tupper, on-comer, and Abigail (Woodbury) Calif-Starbuck-Tupper, both deceased, latter's mother from Sunset Hill.

70. Susannah (Hooten) Whiteus, aged 40, wife of James (I), on-comer, sister of Lydia Chapman, member.

71. Elizabeth (Coffin) Woodbury, aged 60, wife of Nathaniel Jr. (II), daughter of Josiah Sr. (IV), sister of Deacon Josiah, Priscilla Coffin, Abigail Coffin and Jeanette Coffin, all members.

72. Deacon John Woodbury, aged 60, brother of Elizabeth Baschard and brother-in-law of Elizabeth Woodbury, members.

In addition there was their pastor, the Reverend Bezaleel Shaw, aged 53, and his wife, Elizabeth (Hammond) Shaw, aged 50, who were part of the parish. They were married in 1769 two years after he began his pastorate in 1767, aged 29.

If we count these as members there were 68 members - 41 women and 27 men. Twenty-one were elderly, 33 middle-aged, and 14 young only. Naturally, there were non-attender members including children. Probably in all 100 or so - thus the parish included 170 all in all, quite dwarfed by the Friends Meeting, even after a quarter century of massive disownment. Attendance probably ran about 100 most Sundays.

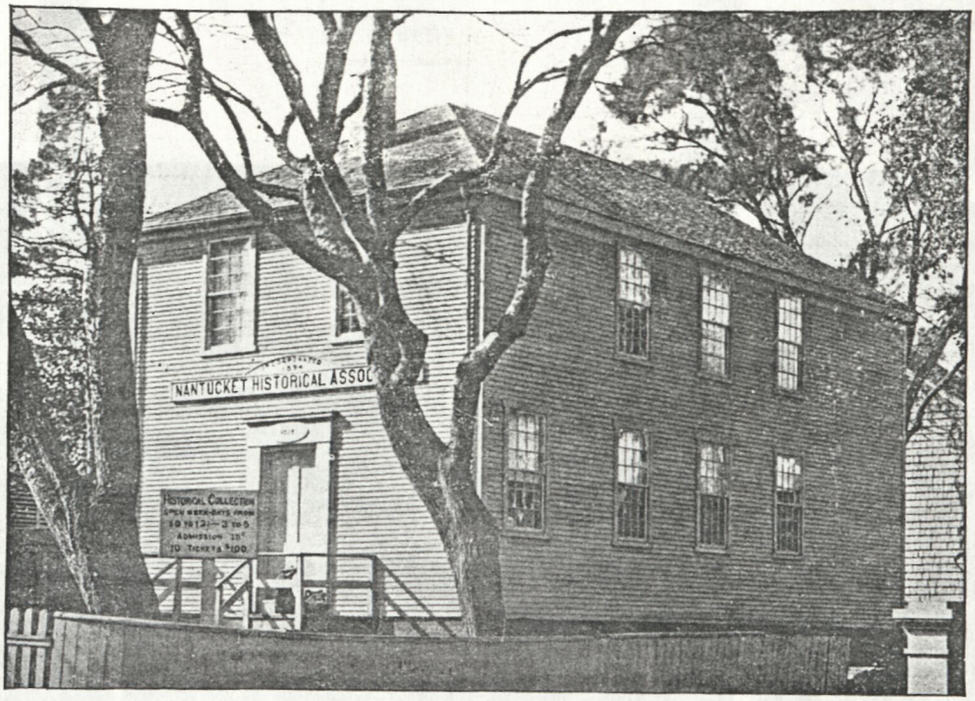
ROBERT J. LEACH

WHY NANTUCKET QUAKERS?

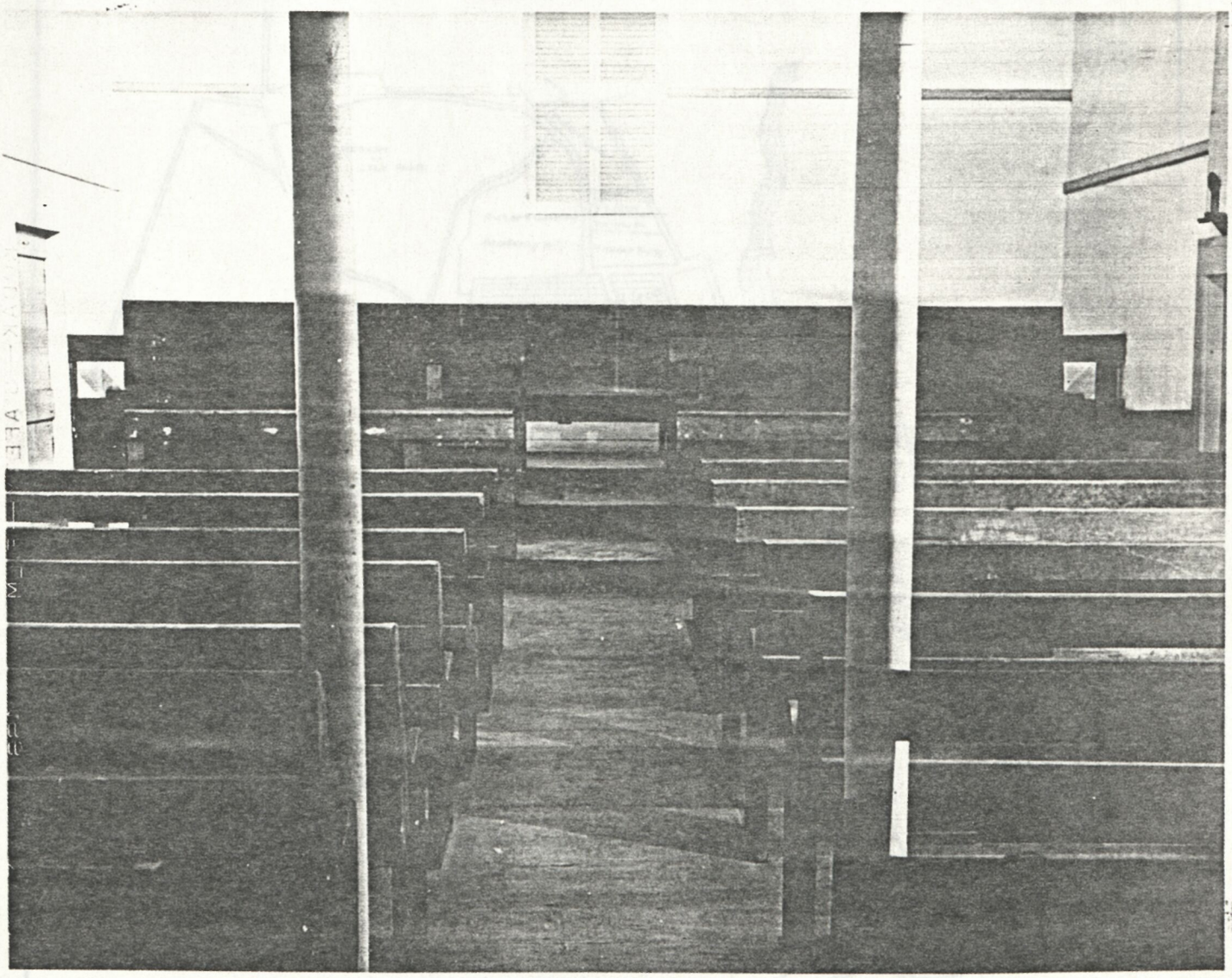
1976

TAPE ONE

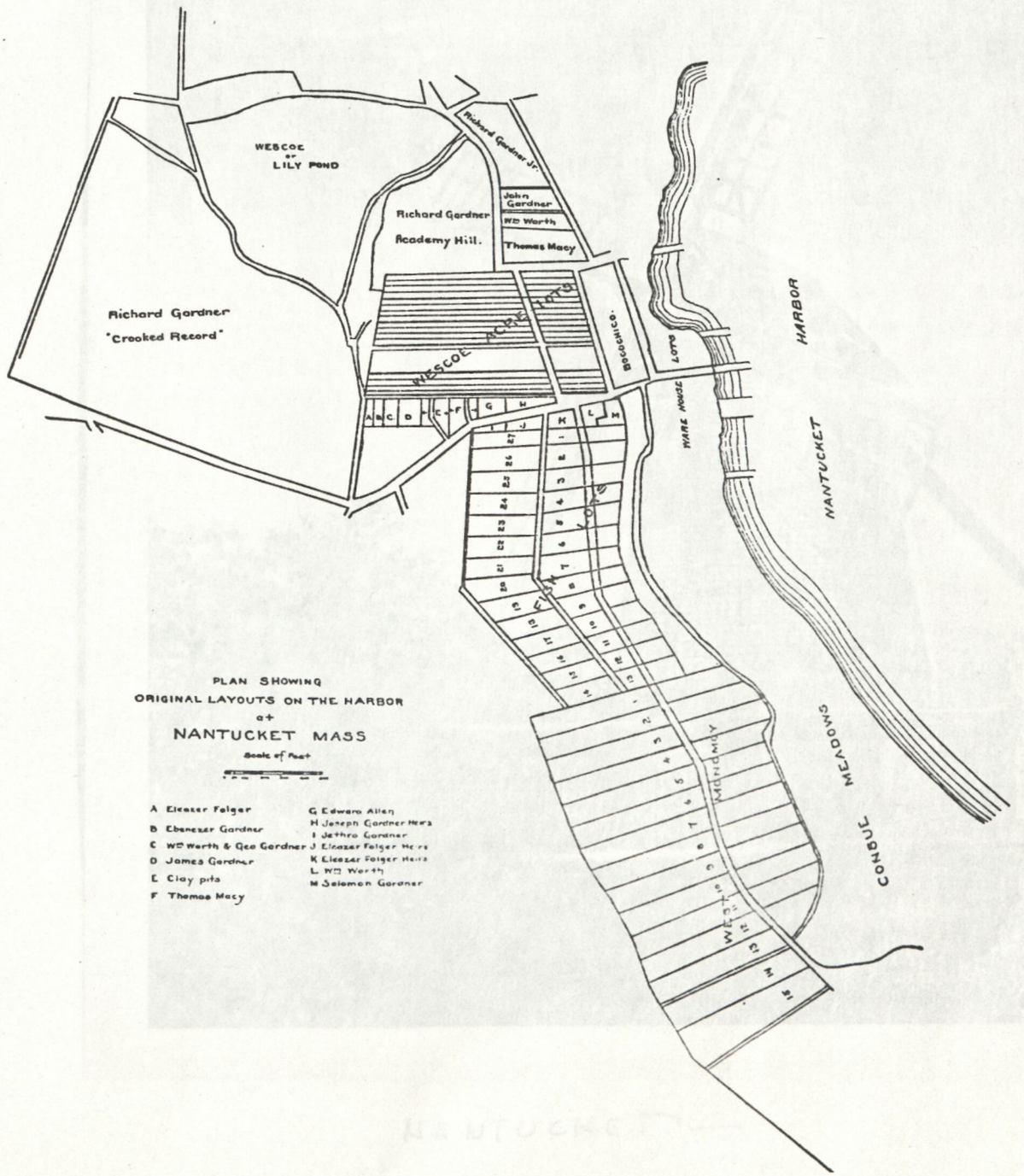
TEXT



THE FAIR STREET MEETING HOUSE—LAST SURVIVOR OF ISLAND FRIENDS MEETING HOUSES.



INTERIOR NANTUCKET MEETINGHOUSE


WESCOE or LILY POND
Richard Gardner Jr.
John Gardner
Wm Worth
Thomas Macy
Richard Gardner
Academy Hill.
Richard Gardner
"Crooked Record"
WESCOE ACRE LOTS
BOCOCHICO.
WARE HOUSE LOTS
HARBOR
NANTUCKET
CONSUE MEADOWS
MONOMOY
PLAN SHOWING
ORIGINAL LAYOUTS ON THE HARBOR
at
NANTUCKET MASS
Scale of Feet
A Eleazer Folger
B Ebenezer Gardner
C Wm Worth & Geo Gardner
D James Gardner
E Clay pits
F Thomas Macy
G Edward Allen
H Joseph Gardner Heirs
I Jethro Gardner
J Eleazer Folger Heirs
K Eleazer Folger Heirs
L Wm Worth
M Solomon Gardner

NANTUCKET

NANTUCKET

NANTUCKET —

(1)

our yearly Meeting of woman ffriends Held ye 28th 4mo 1708
on Nantucket At the house of Nathaniel Starbuck And
wee had a good meeting feeling the power of the lord to be
A mongst us. it is Concluded by this meeting that there
Shall be a monthly meeting kept the last Second day
of Every month in the yeare. at this time hear was
Joanna Mott and Rose ~~Abbots~~
~~Att~~ our Monthly Meeting of woman ffriends held on Nantucket ye 26 of 5th mo 1708.
7 = 2 Collected 7/2 Dorcas Starbuck was Chosen to lay ~~it~~
Att our monthly meeting the 30th of 6mo 1708 no busness
At our monthly meeting ye 27 of 7mo 1708 no business
9 = 1 at our monthly meeting ye 25 of 8mo 1708 Collected 9/1.
At our monthly meeting ye 29 of 9mo 1708 no busness
At our ~~mo~~ monthly meeting ye 27 of 10mo 1708 no business
9 = 7 At our monthly meeting 31 of 11mo 1708 Collected 9/7
At our monthly meeting ye 28 of 12mo 1708 no buisness
At our monthly meeting ye 28 of first mo 1709 no buisiness
8 = 4 At our monthly meeting ye 25 of 2mo 1709 Collected 8/4.
At our monthly meeting ye 30 of 3mo 1709 no business
12 = 11. At our monthly meeting ye 27 of 4mo 1709 Collected 12/11.
9 = 5 At our monthly meeting ye 25 of 5mo 1709 Collected 9/5.
7 = 2 At our monthly meetin ye 29 of 6mo 1709 Collected 7/2.
11 = 6 At our monthly meeting ye 26 of 7mo 1709 Collected 11/6.
8 = 0
12 = 3 At our monthly meeing ye 31 of 8mo 1709 Collected 8/0.
9 = 3 At our monthly meeting ye 28 of 9mo 1709 Collected 12/3.
10 = 4
5:15:00 At the same meeting Ebenezer Gardner and Eunice Coffin
Laid theire intentions of marrage before this meeting
Dorcas Starbuck and Pricilla Coleman ware appointed to
Inspect her Clearness ~~the m~~
At our monthly meeting ye 26 of 10th mo 1709 Collected 9/3
At the same meeting Ebenezer Gardner & Eunice Coffin
Apeared and Signified the Continuation of theire
Intentions of marrage and thay being found Clear had
An aswer that they might proceed
At our monthly meeting ye 30 of 11mo 1709 Nathaniel Barnard Junr &
Judith ffolger Apeared & Signified the Continuation of their intention
of marrage on deliberate ~~Consideration~~ Wee findingthings Clear
Give our answer thay may Proceed Collected 10/4

WOMENS MINUTES

At our Monthly Meeting Begun & held on Nantucket ye 28 day of ye 4^m 1708. at ye house of Math^w Starbuck. Friends here having Proposd & Desird of ye yearly Meeting at Rhoad Island y^t we might have A yearly Meeting for Worship & a Monthly Men & Women Meeting for Busines Established here; & ye yearly Meeting on Rhoad Island held ye 11. 12. 13th & 14th days of ye 5th Month 1708, having allowed & Made an entry thereof have appointed ye our yearly Meeting for Worship Should begin on ye 4th Sixth day in this Month & to hold Seventh & first days & so to be kept yearly & y^t our Monthly meeting ~~y^t at Middletown~~ Should be kept on ye next Second day following ye last Mo^th Meetings for time to come Shall be Left on ye 1st. Second day in Every Month, y^t we be joyned to Rhoad Island Quarterly Meeting — Pursuant to ye good order above, they have been Left & Established by ye friends Appointed to said yearly Meeting (viz) Jeremiah Moth, & Thomas Coppik, being accompanied by William Stanton Elog Mecombe Eleazer Folger. & now to Order Management of ye Affairs of our Meeting, do appoint Math^w Starbuck y^r to be Register for this Meeting — at Meeting day aforesaid y^t on ye Next Monthly Meeting there Shall be a Collection for to purchase a book for ye Meeting therein to enter ye proceedings of our Meetings also it's Proposd y^t friends take Care for a peice of ye ground for a Meeting house on & for a burying ground. — —

At our Monthly Meeting on Nantucket at ye house of Math^w Starbuck, ye 20th Day of ye 5^m 1708. according to our former Meeting agreement, Collected four Shillings & Eleven pence — Barnabas Starbuck is appointed to take Care of all ye Collections of ye Meeting & Dispose of it by ye Meeting Shall order . . . . . .

At our Monthly Meeting on Nantucket ye 3^d day of ye 6th month 1708. for to inspect ye affairs of ye Church . . . . . .

At our Monthly Meeting on Nantucket, ye 2^d day of ye 7th month, 1708 — Collected for ye poor & other Nessesary uses Six Shillings & ten pence — Math^w Gardner & Math^w Starbuck is are to go to ye Quarterly Meeting to be held on Rhoad Island on ye 8 day of ye 8^m next ensuing to which he belongs . . . . . .

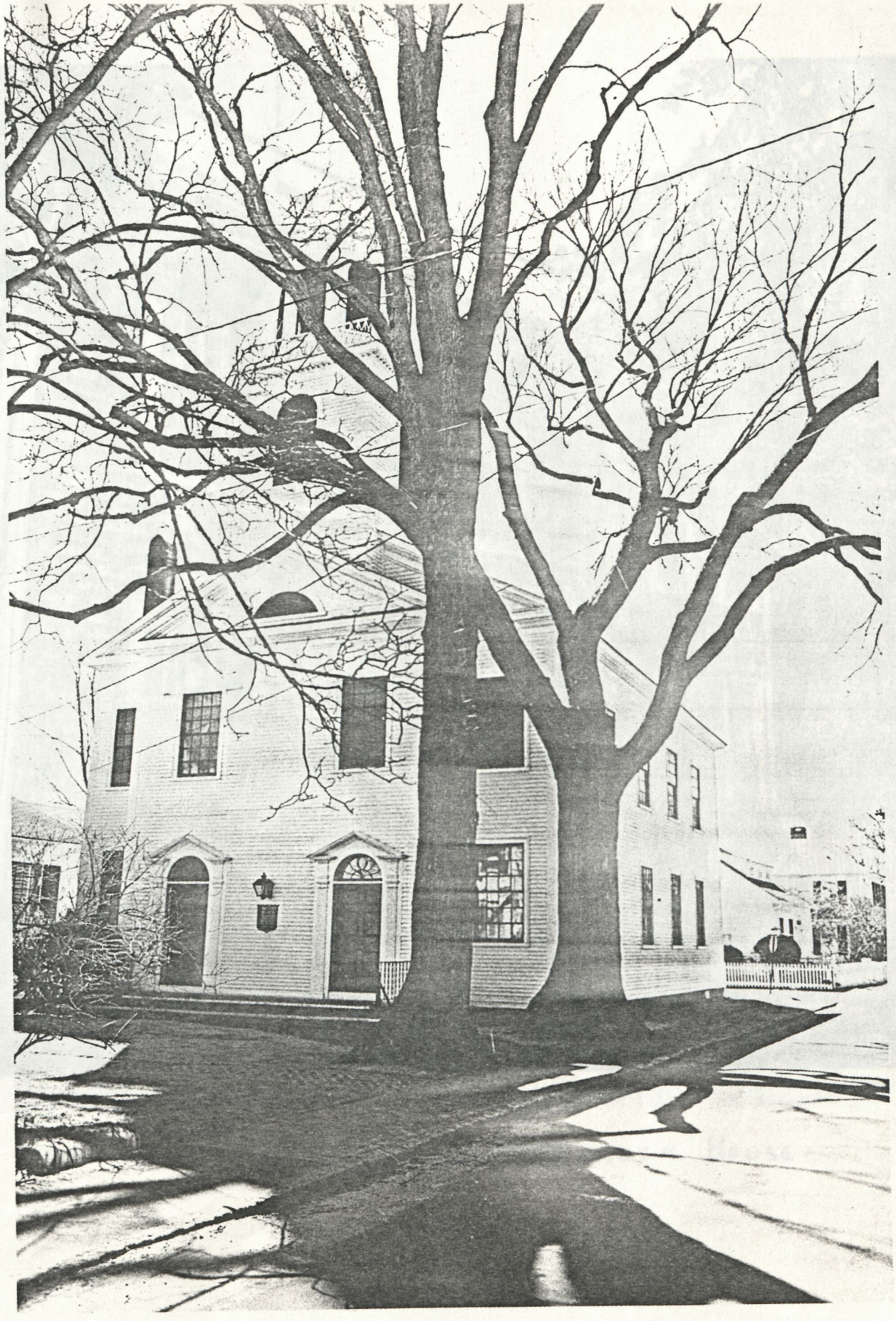
At our Monthly Meeting on Nantucket ye 2^d day of ye 8^m 1^y for ye Promotion of ye good order begun . . . . . .

At our Monthly Meeting on Nantucket ye 29 day of 8 month having Received two Epistles from y^e Quarterly Meeting, here to ~~ve~~ Received by us. —

At our Monthly Meeting on Nantucket y^e 27 day of 10^m Collected three Shillings & fower pence. for y^e use of friends . . .

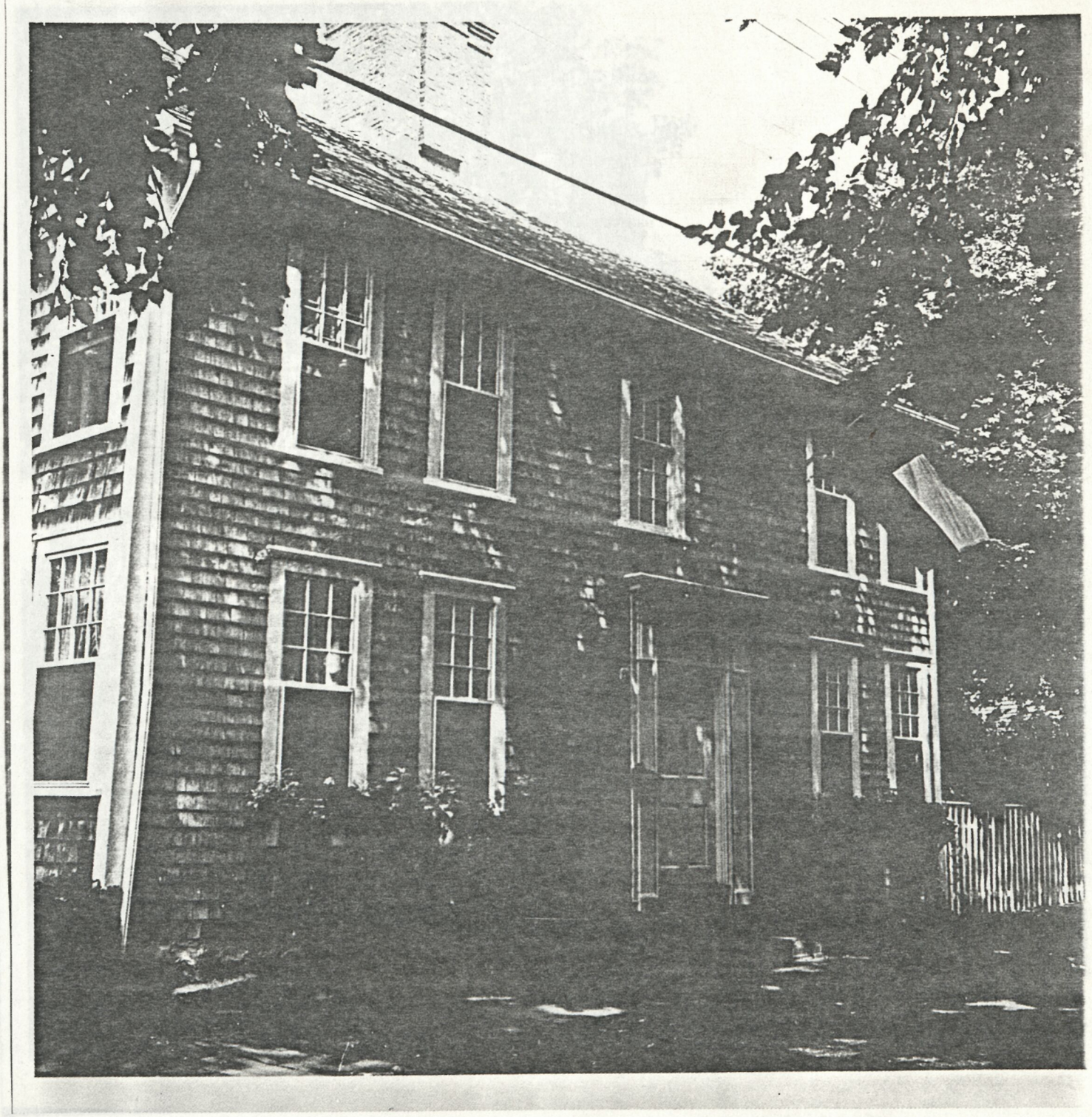
MENS MINUTES

PARLIAMENT HOUSE—



MAYHEW CHURCH

M.V.



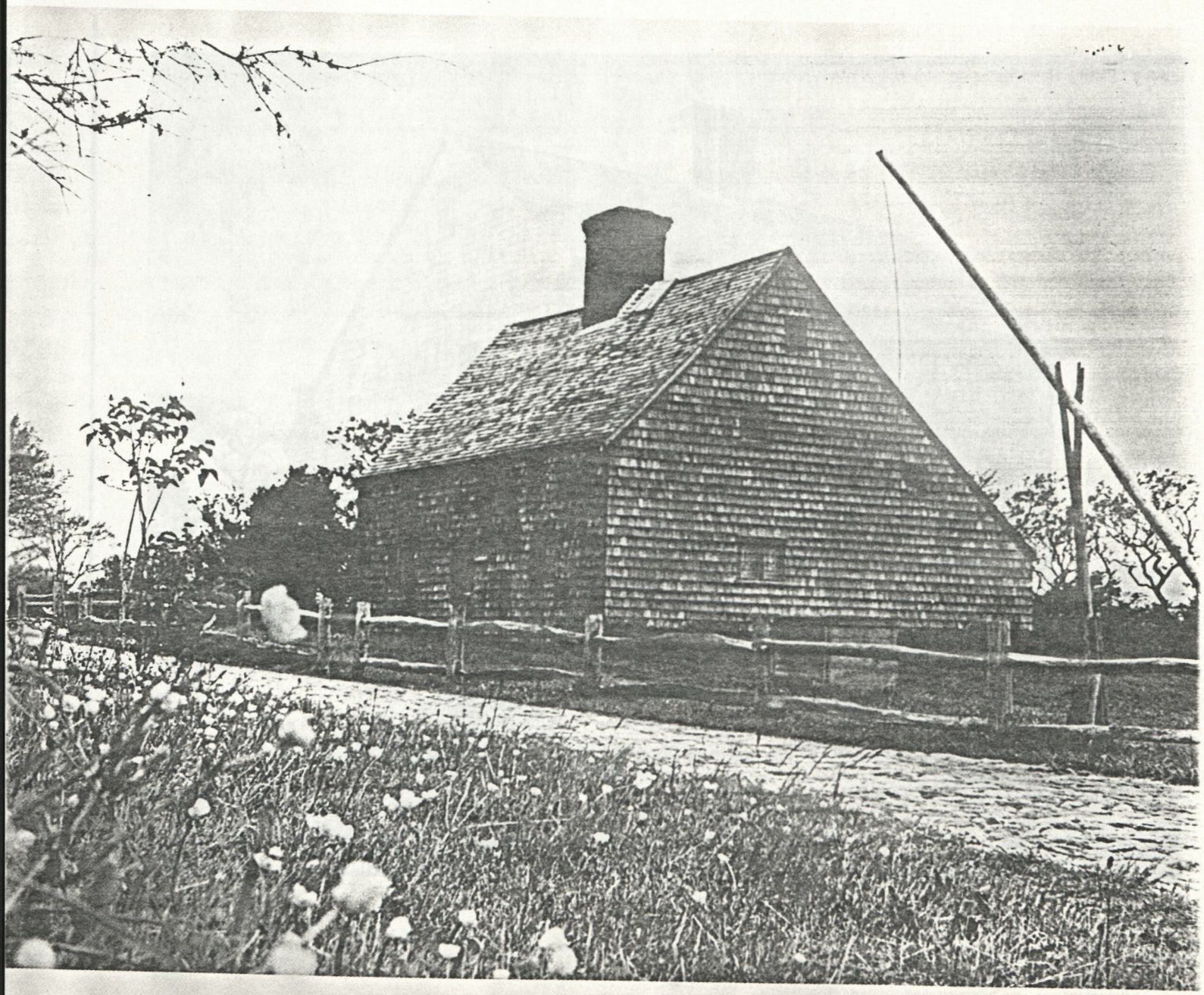
JETHRO STARBUCK HOUSE—

~~THOMAS~~ MACY HOUSE

Nathaniel

12 Liberty St.

(Macy-Christian House)



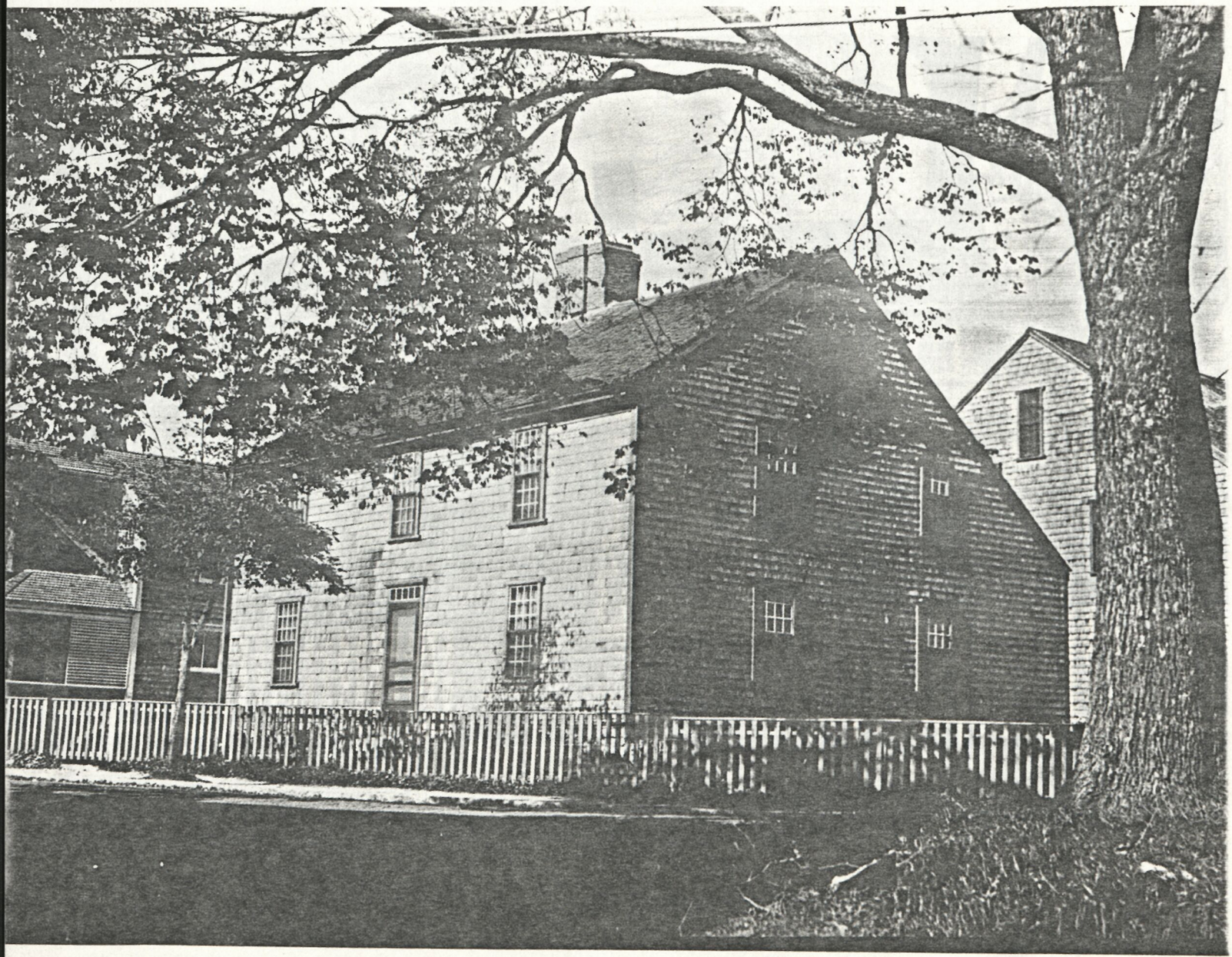
~~ELIHU COLEMAN~~ HOUSE

Jethro Coffin

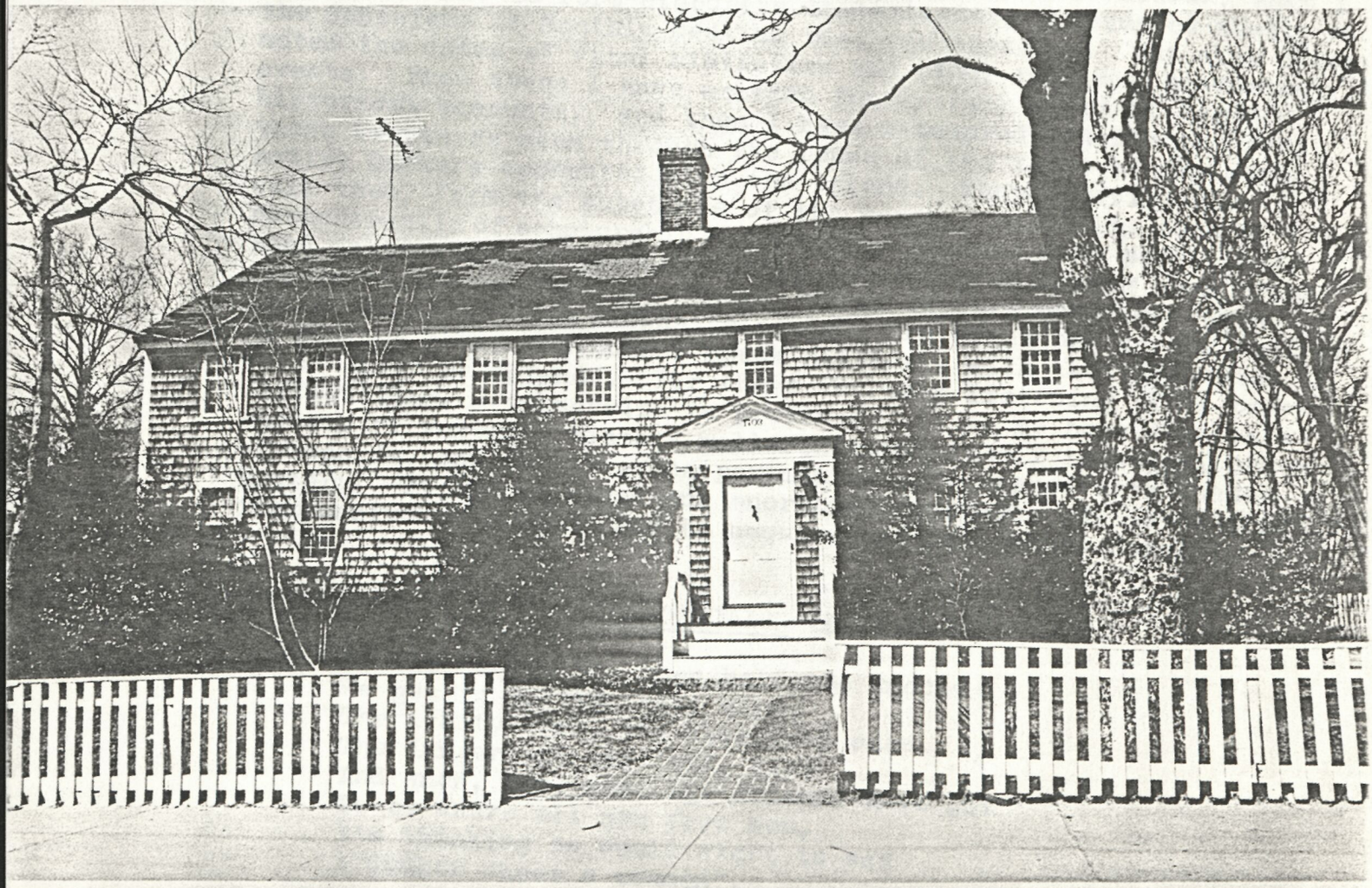
~~JETHRO COFFIN~~ HOUSE —

Elihu Coleman

Madaket Road



CHRISTOPHER STARBUCK HOUSE—
105 Main St.



JOHN COFFIN HOUSE —.

? Not Nantucket

ROBERT J. LEACH: WHY NANTUCKET QUAKERS?

Tape One; Side One

PREFACE (i-57)

The production of tapes to tell the story of Nantucket Quakeri occurred to me in the early weeks of 1976. I have spent so many many hours reading the records of Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Friends as well as parallel manuscript and printed records, that I have been able to form elaborate chronologies, punctuated mostly by the decisions of Monthly Meeting business sessions. But also I have noted the dates of vital statistics and other relevant historical events. From these I have written fairly full straight forward historical accounts. And then I have attempted finally to group these events as seen through the lense of the lives of the more active Quakers connected with the island. These profiles, as I call them, form the substance of the tapes. Naturally much of the paraphernalia of scholarship - footnotes for the most part - have been jettisoned, or perhaps better described as having been transferred to bibliographical essays, which in turn occur as tapes periodically in this extensive study. The advantage to the auditor is that he hears his author speak his text, with the inflection of voice which he intends. For those for whom listening alone poses difficulties, a typescript is provided. It is my hope that this variety of recorded history will recommend itself to repositories of records, and to libraries particularly concerned with Quaker history. It has at least one enormous advantage. It is relatively inexpensive to produce and to acquire, as well as to copy.

INTRODUCTION (57-439)

"If old George Fox knew half the knocks
We get in getting oil, sirs,
The scanty fare, the sleepless care,
The danger and the toil, sirs.
And knew, too, what his Friends have got
To be where all are free men,
I'm thinking he would start to see
A Quaker cheat a seaman".

This, the concluding verse of a whaler's song, was reprinted in the Dukes County Intelligencer of February 1971, having first been printed in 1831 in New Bedford, Massachusetts; in a town in which, "the Quaker oil merchants . . . were not popular with seamen".

When did I first hear of Quakers - in New Bedford or anywhere else for that matter? I don't rightly know. When I was five in 1921 my mother took me on the island boat from Edgartown (the shire town of Dukes County) to New Bedford: to the hospital "to have my tonsils out". I suppose it was my first visit. I was vaguely aware of the New Bedford skyline punctuated by the Historical Museum - which stands beside the home of William Rotch Jr. son of the most famous of New Bedford Quaker whaling merchants - and who had moved there from Nantucket. Indeed William Rotch Sr. had died in 1828 only three years before the whalers song quoted above was first published.

In Edgartown my father (Vineyard born) was pastor of the old Congregational Church, founded in 1642 by Governor Thomas Mayhew - or rather by his namesake, Thomas Mayhew Jr. There were two great lists of the pastors of the church in gold lettering at the front. And when I could read (at the age of six or seven) they stood like the Ten Commandments. Perhaps they gave me my original penchant toward the delightful discipline of the historian. Anyway they proclaimed a magnificent continuity for nearly three centuries.

We arrived in Edgartown in April of 1920 when I was a little more than four years of age. Till September we rented the ground floor of a whaling captain's house that looked out across the road (South Water Street) and the lawn of the Mayhew "Manor House", across the hidden inner harbor - hidden unless one stood on the Mayhew lawn itself - to the rounded bleak hills of Chappaquiddick. At sunset these hills were often bathed with the rainbow colors of the setting sun; for Chappaquiddick Island lies eastward of Edgartown. Memories for me earlier than the summer of 1920 are patchy and tenuous. But from South Water Street till today they stretch continuously.

In 1964 in April after a nine year stay in Europe, I was back again in Edgartown for less than twenty-four hours. But it was a dry north-easter which saw me back; to the point of original continuous memory. What a lovely place Edgartown is! Rows of whaling captains' homes, mostly built in the early decades of the 19th century give distinction, clarity of line and dazzling whiteness against an azure sky - as they did that afternoon. In the midst of these distinguished residences stands the fifth Meetinghouse of Mayhew's church - an elegantly restrained Federalist transcription (in wood) of Christopher Wren's genius.

I walked across the Mayhew lawn to greet the incumbent resident-pastor of my father's church. And I remembered Miss Sara Joy Mayhew, the last of her family, who bequeathed the "Manor House" to the church as a parsonage when she died in her 90th year in 1956. Miss Sara Joy was 53 when we arrived on South Water Street. She didn't change too much, or so it seemed to me, in the thirty or so years that I knew her. She stood or sat "very straight", especially in the Mayhew family pew. She was not unaware of her position as the head of the founder family on the island. But as she had been a school teacher - improbably I learned later on, in Colorado - Miss Sara Joy knew how to interest a small boy. She had in fact founded the Edgartown Women's Club - or was one of its leading spirits - when still a very young woman. Obviously Miss Sara Joy Mayhew never married. In 1920 there were still some whaling captains about. The last whaler out of New Bedford ran aground off Cuttyhunk about 1925. The First World War had given the coup de grace to whaling on the Vineyard. The young men of the Vineyard moved away to Colorado or farther. Only the daughters stayed behind in the decaying backwater till the New York summer crowd discovered how "quaint" the New England waterfront was in 1920 - or even earlier.

Sara Joy was only one of a number of stranded reminders of a past age of glory - when whale oil lit the lamps of London - before petroleum was discovered. A good number of these gentle women sat in the Mayhew church - although the Methodists and Baptists had made inroads on the old established religion a century before. And as the whaling industry waned, Portugese immigrants (many quite informally and illegally) settled in the depopulated whaling towns rather than go home to the extreme poverty of the Cape Verde Islands.

The earliest of these immigrants joined the three Edgartown churches, but by the 20th century, the Roman Catholic clergy undertook a massive missionary enterprise to recover their isolated members. A Catholic Church was built (and an Episcopalian as well mostly for summer people). By 1920 almost half of Edgartown attended Mass at least in the winter months. Somehow I recall it said that Sara Joy might have married a "Portygee" - except that the church divide was too great. She was aged 35 about the time the Catholic Church was built - but Mass had been said in town for a decade before that.

Church services in the Mayhew Meetinghouse were undergirded by a quality of corporate prayer which was very remarkable. Even the five year old boy that I was understood this. Mother took us, in health, to church every Sunday morning. It was not an emotional service. Later in life, when I was aged nine, we moved to South Ashburnham, to a church which had little of the awareness of the world which I knew in Edgartown. There a frankly evangelical flavor was distinctly unpleasant to my growing spirituality - a spirituality fed by the honest beauty of the one-time whaling town with the incredibly changing vitality of the sea about it - and the quality of the old seagoing families within it.

Struck as I was by the great contrast between the shire town and the little north Massachusetts factory village. I ventured to ask Sara Joy about it. Obviously she had inherited a special place on a very special island. But more than this, she credited her Quaker ancestors on Nantucket with giving her instinctively an inward awareness and intensity of comprehension which she felt was vital. And she pointed out that many of the other families of "our" church had similar Nantucket Quaker ancestry - notably Miss Chloe Coffin, the Worth family, the Wimpenney family, and the Cottle family.

We had gone to Nantucket in the golden October of 1924 for a month. We lived on Gardner Street, just down the road from the Upper Square, and the superb elegance of Upper Main Street in Nantucket town. I was eight years old: twice as old as when we had arrived on South Water Street in Edgartown. Always I had looked for towns to equal Edgartown. It was my standard of what was right in this world. Nowhere, though we had travelled all the way to Niagara Falls in the summer of 1924, had my standard been met.

But eastward beyond Chappaquiddick lay paradise. Nantucket was mostly built in the 18th, not the 19th century. And its 19th century whaling mansions were those of the oil merchants, a good cut above the whaling captain and his white Federalist residence. In Edgartown only two houses could compete with two dozen such on Nantucket.

It was altogether a larger town with more churches. As in Edgartown, Chappaquiddick-like barren hills catch the late afternoon sun across a similar harbor. Each harbor has a lighthouse. Each outflung northeast spit beach houses still other lighthouses. Each has its Water Street (in Nantucket Orange Street is in effect an extension) cut at right angles by its Main Street. But Nantucket has its cobbled stone square and many more wharfs.

We attended the First Congregational Church on Nantucket - altogether a bigger and more Methodist-like building, at least as I recalled it. I had so wanted to attend the Unitarian Church (Second Congregational as it is called), for it was more like the Mayhew Meetinghouse, but with a gold cupola and a silver bell - struck 52 times thrice daily, at 7 a.m., at noon, and at 9 p.m. The Methodists also had a church just off the square - like ours, but without a tower or town clock (that was in the Unitarian tower). The Baptists had a building similar to that in Edgartown, but they also had a slender spire (like ours, but not as good). Both the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians outdid their Edgartown equivalents. As for the Quaker Meetinghouse, it was then a museum - closed in October. I had so wanted to see it, but couldn't.

So this was where Miss Sara Joy's grandparents had gone to Meeting - or had they? It seems Charles Barney was sufficiently liberal that he could have gone off into the "Hicksite" branch which ceased to function about 1846. I still don't know the answer to this small point - but hope to one day.

We didn't go back to Nantucket, nor did our paths lie through New Bedford for a good many years. In the case of Nantucket, I didn't return till 1935. I was then entering the Sophomore year at Marietta College, Ohio, aged 19. At the end of the summer I went over with two Edgartonians - Edgar Currier and his wife, Margaret (Cottle) Currier, she of Nantucket antecedants. (In fact, in later life her resemblance to William Rotch's last portrait was singularly striking).

I acted as guide to Margaret and Edgar. I took them systematically over the town. So indelibly had the visit of October 1924 imprinted itself upon my memory that I could (without working up the background) serve as their guide. Again I was struck with the exquisite beauty of the place. Again and again my throat tightened to feel the joyous pain which pure beauty produces in me.

I stayed on a few days - to discover in the Jetties Bathing Beach, an equivalent to the Chappaquiddick Beach Club, and to attend on a full moonlight night, a service in the Methodist Church; after which some visiting piano-accordionists regaled the moonlit square from the steps of the Pacific National Bank. I felt I was pointed to Europe in that moment. Fifteen years later I came to Europe to live. But that eventuality belongs to another story.

In my Journal (which I started in 1930) I noted visiting the "Quaker Church", which was then open in 1935 as a museum. In fact in those days it contained the fine collection of paintings now housed for the most part in the Peter Foulger Museum. The strong faces of those wearing Quaker garb was my first introduction to what Sara Joy's grandparents must have looked like.

Three years later I went to Ohio State University to earn my Masters Degree, in the process of which I was put to work on the Ohio Quaker records. My "boss", it turned out, was a Friend. So I went to Meeting. And I visited the Friends Boarding School in Barnesville, little realizing that its original grant of money was a bequest from Thomas Rotch, son of the New Bedford whaling magnate. Later I was allowed to rummage through Thomas Rotch's papers still kept at his home in Massillon, Ohio. Nor did I suspect in 1939 that Massillon had been the home of Sara Joy's cousins - in fact Quaker cousins descended from the Mayhew line itself.

The summer of 1939 allowed for extensive visiting among mid-western Quakers. I had become a quasi-Unitarian in Marietta, and was suitably distressed at the bastard evangelicalism which abounds in Quaker circles in that area. As the war broke, I found I was at home among the conservative Friends of Barnesville. My thesis work led to a scholarship at Pendle Hill so that for the next three years my historical bent found wide-ranging research possibilities in Quaker history. In 1940 I moved my recently acquired Quaker membership to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

I was again on Nantucket in 1939 and at the Meetinghouse, which I learned had been opened again in summer for Meetings for Worship. Now I was avid to learn the story of the rise and fall of the original Nantucket Quaker Meeting. Whoever was in charge of the Museum gave me the misinformation that the records of the Nantucket Monthly Business Meeting had perished in the Great Nantucket Fire of 1846. Nor was I allowed to look at the crowded manuscript collection in the safe next the Meetinghouse itself.

During the academic year 1939-1940 I became a close friend of a North Carolinian, J. Floyd Moore, a product of Quaker Guilford College, North Carolina. In the summer I visited him there, again to discover in the Quaker burial ground at New Garden that many of the old stones mark the graves of Coffins, Worths, Macys and other Nantucket names. It turns out that in the 1770s a great migration of Nantucket Quakers to that area had much to do with the founding of Guilford College. It was brought home to me that my personal

indebtedness to Floyd Moore, was only one facet of my deeper gratitude for an orientation toward inward religion which I had caught in the Mayhew Church on Martha's Vineyard. Both debts led me toward Nantucket and the pointers multiplied. At Barnesville in the summer of 1974 I found the boarding school being run by a Starbuck descendant still carrying that name - twelve straight generations leading back to Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, the founder of the Nantucket Friends Meeting.

In the summer of 1940 I discovered to my amazement that the old Nantucket Monthly Meeting was not dead after all, but had been gathering without a break in Centreville, Rhode Island, just outside Providence once it had quit the island. Furthermore, upon visiting the Foster farm (its headquarters) I was delighted to discover that its members still used the plain language, still had plain clothes tucked away - bonnets, black hats and so forth - and, best of all, had a safe full of the records of the Monthly Meeting, which no fire had touched! What joy it was to leaf through the first book of records from 1708 to 1772! I was back again in the autumn of 1940 to take notes on the first twenty years record from 1708 to 1728. And on Nantucket itself I was allowed to look in the vault and, joy of joys, to find and indentify some incredibly wonderful treasures! - to wit - some minutes of the Hicksite Monthly Meeting in the 1840s, and to find an account of the separation which created this variant Quaker organization.

Rufus Jones, the outstanding Quaker historian of our time, maintained that there had been no Hicksite schism in New England. Here was absolute proof of the opposite. There had been a second so-called Wilburite schism in the orthodox body of New England Friends in 1845. On Nantucket alone the Wilburite grouping was the more numerous. Thus the other orthodox party, the so-called Gurneyites had built still another Meetinghouse and had kept separate records. These I found stored in the vault at the Moses Brown school. (They are still in Rhode Island with the Yearly Meeting records). I then learned that the Nantucket Wilburite Friends had again separated from most of their conservative Yearly Meeting in 1863, maintaining their own schismatic "primitive" structure from 1863 to 1911; when they rejoined the Wilburite Yearly Meeting. In 1894 the last local Meeting on the Island had folded - but the other primitive members in Rhode Island (and in Lynn, Massachusetts) continued to hold Nantucket Monthly Meeting sessions (to which they had become attached in 1863).

Surely no other Meeting in the whole Quaker world had had such a history. Like the Holy Roman Empire, the ghost of Quaker Nantucket had survived transmuted, for in fact none of the members in 1940 had any direct ancestors from the Island. But they were not averse to returning to the Island their safe full of invaluable Nantucket records.

In 1945 after much negotiation the Gurneyites and Wilburites, the two Yearly Meetings, merged in New England. In Providence, the local Gurneyite Monthly Meeting merged with a lively independant group and with the Wilburite Nantucket Monthly Meeting. The records

were then largely photocopied by the Library of Congress, and taken to Nantucket to be stored with the Historical Association until such time as the Monthly Meeting should revive on the Island. In 1972 an informal Quaker business Meeting began again to be held, as the summer Meeting, dating from 1939, proceeded to meet all the year round. But no membership as yet has been formally established. However, it is fair to say that Nantucket Quakerism has functioned in one form or another since 1698, when the first Meeting was held on the Island.

In 1942 I first attended Meetings for Worship in the Fair Stree Meetinghouse, as I did also in the Spring Street Meetinghouse in New Bedford - the latter a structure built at the time William Rotch died. I also found time to read the Womens Monthly Meeting Minutes from 1708 to 1728, and to get up relevant material from Quarterly and Yearly Meeting records for those years.

In 1942 I was drafted into Civilian Public Service, the pacifis alternative in World War II, which gave me time to write up my impressions of the first twenty years of the experience of Nantucket Monthly Meeting (1708-1728). I finished this account in the spring of 1945.

Then in 1947 I arranged to stay on Nantucket from mid-June to mid-September, and to work through the Monthly Meeting records from 1728 to 1763, with parallel examination of town and county records, as well as those in the Moses Brown vault. This material I had organized by the summer of 1950.

It was then that I came to Europe to pursue a career in international education, to marry and to raise a family. In 1964 in April it happened I flew over Nantucket town to be again attracted to its classic proportions. In 1968 I addressed the Historical Society on its Quaker heritage, and read up the record of the Minutes from 1763 to 1773. It was a pleasure beyond imagination once again to sit in the Fair Street Meetinghouse entry, watching the morning sunlight dapple the ancient wooden floor. I had spent so many glorious hours there in the summer of 1947 when the then manually rung Unitarian bell caressed the hot summer air.

In the summer of 1970 we took a house in Sconset on the Island. This time I read the record from 1773 to 1789, working for the most part in the gallery upstairs in the Meetinghouse. This time the Yearly Meeting records were to be found in the rare book library of the Brown University campus. And in 1972 I managed to cover the data from 1789 to 1795, in a short visit not unlike that of 1968. This was followed by work with the Yearly Meeting records in the Rhode Island Historical Society, which now houses that collection. At this writing (autumn of 1976) I am working through material having to do with the years 1773 to 1778. We spent the summer of 1976 on Nantucket allowing for me to read the Minutes available from 1795 to 1815. That is, not too far from the time of the whalers song with which this account started.

Obviously aside from the historical fascination involved, there is the element of recording and evaluating Nantucket history as a kind of exercise in debt-payment. More important is the discovery of what I call the "obverse" of the Moby Dick experience. What George Fox, the Quaker founder, envisaged was deeply affected by whaling, by financial success, and by the complexities of the religious problems native to each stage of Nantucket Meeting development. Short of this final analysis there are certain almost universal discoveries which are worth noting in what is turning out to be a lifetime's research project.

Before terminating this personal introduction, I must pay special tribute to one Nantucketer, to Edouard Stackpole, historian of the Nantucket Historical Association, whose constant interest and encouragement has kept me hopeful that the result of my extensive research will some day appear in print.

CHAPTER I - PETER FOLGER (440-end)

In Which the Edgartown Preacher becomes "God-Father" to Nantucket Quakerism

Peter Folger, 1618-1690, has been rescued from forgetfulness by Florence Anderson in her good book entitled A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin - for such he was. Her's is an excellent book, especially good for catching the atmosphere of social and political disquiet on Nantucket in the 1670s. At least Peter Folger has been rescued as a Nantucket figure. But he went to Nantucket only in 1662 or in 1663. Before that he was a figure of note on Martha's Vineyard. Just this summer the Dukes County Intelligencer has set out to rehabilitate Folger as a Vineyarder.

Peter Folger spoke Algonquin, the native Amerind language on the Cape and the Islands, as did Thomas Mayhew Jr., the founder of the old Edgartown church. In 1657 Thomas Jr. took ship for England, never to be heard of again. To preach in his absence, his father Thomas Mayhew Sr. persuaded his son's co-worker, Peter Folger, to collaborate with him in Edgartown. (From 1642 to 1657 it would appear that Mayhew's proprietary colony had been administered for the most part in absentia by his ministerial namesake). The Governor found it difficult to work with Folger. Even though Thomas Mayhew was a somewhat liberal puritan, he had no use for Anabaptists nor for Quakers - the latter grouping having developed a thriving settlement at Sandwich on Cape Cod by 1656. The Anabaptists were to be found in numbers in Rhode Island. What was worse Peter Folger was being drawn steadily into their way of thinking.

Folger's name (not unlike that of Trotsky in the U.S.S.R.) was, as a result, virtually expunged from the history of the Vineyard, in which history he played in fact a vital role. One looks in vain on the list of ministers of the Edgartown Congregational Church for any mention of his ministry. His memory however lives on in the Baptist Church of Gay Head, at the western end of Martha's Vineyard, a church serving the vestigial remains of the Algonquin Vineyard tribe. This church was, in fact, only formally "gathered" three years after Folger's death.

Folger had accompanied the original transient settlers on Nantucket in 1659, where it may be surmised that he was drawn toward Baptist doctrines by Edward Starbuck, one of that company, who was already a Baptist "lay reader". In any case after Peter Folger broke with the old Governor, he retired to Rhode Island and was formally converted to the Baptist faith. Then the little Nantucket settlement begged him successfully to settle on the far away island as blacksmith and unpaid Baptist preacher.

Nantucket was settled in 1661 permanently. A year after the Crown disallowed Mayhew's patent to the islands. After 1664 these islands became a part of the Duke of York's New York Proprietary Colony, so that it was unclear how much prerogative the old Governor

still held on the island, which he had "sold" in 1659. Naturally newer settlers on Nantucket wished to diminish Mayhew's powers. Though the original Nantucket proprietors tended to favor the old Governor's claims in order to ensure their own ascendancy on the newer island.

It was at this point that Peter Folger became one of the liberal spokesmen. In fact he was the first white man imprisoned on Nantucket for refusing, as Clerk of the Court, to give up his records to the original proprietary group.

Once the controversy was settled, in favor of the liberals, it must be affirmed, Peter Folger published the first Nantucket pamphlet entitled A Looking Glass for the Times.

Tape One, Side Two (1-96)

In his small brochure, entitled A Looking Glass for the Times, Peter Folger, the ex-Edgartown pastor, set out to defend Baptists and Quakers, who had been blamed maliciously for the incidence of King Philip's Algonquin Indian War (which had occurred on the mainland). Even so the "liberal" magistrates on Nantucket effectively opposed the landing of any known Quaker preacher on the island, and this prohibition was maintained in the face of a large refugee population which arrived from the New Hampshire and North Shore frontier region to escape the tomahawk.

From 1680 onwards two additional Quaker settlements on Cape Cod - in Falmouth and Yarmouth - extended the Quaker "menace" towards the islands. It is even probable that some Friends from these outposts reached Nantucket in the last years of Peter Folger's life. In any case, in 1690, the year of his death, one Yarmouth Quaker, Ichabod Paddack, was employed by the Town of Nantucket to introduce a more advanced type of shore-based whaling than was known to the Nantucket Algonquin tribe.

At his death Peter Folger left the town without a clergyman, though his widow, Ann (Morrell) Folger, with whom it was said he could converse in Latin, was, mirabile dictu, also said to be trained in theology. She would live on till 1704 to know that the Nantucket Friends Meeting had been created. Seven of their nine children survived their father - the youngest, Abiah Folger, marrying candle-maker, Josiah Franklin, of Boston in that year of 1690. One son, John, (in fact the only one born in Edgartown) became a founding member of Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Friends in 1708. Another older son, Eliezer, became the first school master on Nantucket. And one of his grandsons, Abishai Folger, 1700-1788, who served as representative in the Massachusetts Colonial Legislature, married Sarah Mayhew, daughter of the Dukes County representative, Paine Mayhew, in 1727.

Paine Mayhew was, as might be expected, a grandson of Thomas Mayhew Jr. Thus the Mayhew-Folger wedding of 1727 symbolized a reconciliation between the two islands after a half century of Folger exile, as it were. In turn one of Abishai and Sarah's grandsons, Captain Mayhew Folger, moved to Massillon, Ohio, after locating the mutineers of the good ship Bounty. With Thomas Rotch, Mayhew Folger founded the Quaker settlement of that place - the Meeting of which went Hicksite in the schism of 1827 just a century after the Mayhew-Folger reconciliation had taken place. Mayhew Folger's grandson, Admiral William Mayhew Folger, disowned Quaker, and man of substance, left his fortune to build the Peter Folger Museum on Nantucket - in which the records of Nantucket Quakerism are stored. Finally it is worth underscoring the irony that Nantucket alone really profited from the 1727 reconciliation. Peter Folger was, it should of course be affirmed, god-father to the Nantucket Quaker Meeting.

CHAPTER II - MARY STARBUCK (97-468)

In Which Peter Folger's Convert underwent a Second Conversion

Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, 1645-1717, was not only the daughter of Tristram Coffin, leader of the first proprietors on Nantucket but daughter-in-law of Edward Starbuck, the Baptist lay reader. She was thus caught in the very center of the political whirlpool of the 1670s on Nantucket. At one time she was re-baptized by Peter Folger, to whom she turned intuitively for guidance. And she apprenticed her eldest son to him to learn his blacksmith trade. She admired how Folger handled the Indians in 1661, when aged sixteen, she first trod the flower-spangled moors of the island, which was to become her home.

A year later she was married to Nathaniel Starbuck, who was nine years her senior: generating the first white marriage on the island. Originally they lived in a temporary dwelling on Madaket Harbor. But in the mid-1660s more permanent homes began to appear near Capaum Pond (then a harbor as well) on the north shore, rather than looking westward toward Marthas Vineyard (that is toward Chappaquiddick).

Unfortunately we have no really accurate description of the first settlers. The most adequate key to Mary Starbuck is to be found in deciphering her account book - to decipher the early account books in general - which have come down to us. But this exercise would occupy the lifetime of an accomplished economic historian. Two Quaker Journals, those of John Richardson of Yorkshire and Thomas Story of Philadelphia in particular, make it clear that the burden of leadership discarded by Peter Folger in 1690, had been assumed by the "great Mary". In retrospect this was only right as it foreshadowed a livilihood in ocean-going whaling which would remove the men from Nantucket for weeks, months and even years at a time. Early Nantucket Quakerism was a matriarchy.

The only sure way to begin to understand what happened on Nantucket in the 18th century is by painstaking analysis of both patronymic and "matronymic" descent within the island families. Health was generally good. Population explosion followed, but with an incredible in-breeding taking place. It is however significant that matronymic or distaff descent, i.e. daughters of mothers and of grandmothers, often gives a clearer clue to the whyfor of events than is explained by father-son-and-grandson inheritances. Incidentally the patronymic approach has been the only one attempted previous to my study.

This said it is well to notice Mary Starbuck's situation and that of her husband, Nathaniel Starbuck, both patronynically and matronymically speaking. Neither Mary's mother, Dionis, nor Nathaniel's mother, Katharine, lived to become part of the permanent

settlement. In other words Tristram Coffin and Edward Starbuck were widowers - and widower settlers furthermore who showed no inclination to remarry. Mary was thus housekeeper for both households! Perhaps this explains why the overflow of her home developed into the first emporium on the island - the market place for white and Amerind. Two of Mary's brothers and her only sister had already married on the mainland. Her eldest brother, in fact, became chief justice of the colony of New Hampshire. The next after him kept an inn on the north shore of Massachusetts. And her sister became in time an ancestor of John Greenleaf Whittier, the wellknown New England Quaker poet.

The year after Mary married Nathaniel Starbuck her next oldest brother also wed, bringing a Boston girl to the island. James Coffin, 1640-1720, inherited his father's proclivity for politics, and a long unmarried situation as well a widower (1695-1720). James was five years older than Mary. John Coffin, 1647-1711, was Mary's next brother, a younger brother, was two years her junior. He settled on Marthas Vineyard in 1668 upon marrying, and from him are descended the first of the Vineyard Coffin lines. And seven years younger than Mary was to be found her youngest brother, Stephen Coffin, 1652-1734, who also married in 1668, and to whose household Tristram Coffin Sr. went to live for the last thirteen years of his life. Both John and Stephen joined Mary in her Quaker affirmation.

Nathaniel Starbuck was the only son of the lay preacher Edward Starbuck. Three of Edward's four daughters remained in the New Hampshire area (one being wife to the New Hampshire Chief Justice just refered to). The fourth came out to Nantucket with her father and brother. She was Dorcas (Starbuck) Gayer, 1639-1696, three years younger than Nathaniel - an "old maid" in fact, who only married in 1672 when aged 33. Interestingly the two sisters who stayed on the mainland (the oldest and the youngest respectively) became Quakers - probably in the 1690s - members of Dover Monthly Meeting, New Hampshire, which still exists. The oldest, Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin-Varney, wife in turn of three (!) Dover Quakers, came to live on Nantucket from 1708 to 1711 to help the infant meeting (when she was between her second and third husbands). Sarah Austin, as she was then, was a recorded minister (lay preacher) of the Society of Friends. It is difficult to affirm that she drew her sister-in-law into Quakerism. But she may have exerted some influence.

The Great Mary knew about Quakerism. The public hangings of four Friends on Boston Common in 1659-1660 insured that. Furthermore one of the original Nantucket settlers, John Swain, had become a Quaker member. Also in 1664 a visiting Friends minister, Jane Stokes, arrived on Nantucket. But as she was anarchistic in temperament, nothing concrete happened as a result of her visit. Then in 1667 a second Quaker member came as a resident onto the island in the figure of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. But like John Swain, Sarah had married a puritan, so her Quakerism was diluted, one might say. And then in

1672 a third Quaker resident appeared in the figure of Stephen Hussey, fresh from Barbadoes and very probably convincement under the ministry of none other than the Quaker founder himself - the inimitable George Fox. But Stephen thereupon married a puritan (and a bigoted one as well, if Thomas Story's Journal reads correctly).

Meanwhile in 1671 the town itself was chartered by the Governor of New York. Up to that time government had been the prerogative of the proprietors, tempered by the vanishing authority of old Thomas Mayhew. The original town house was built in 1675 probably near the Starbuck emporium. Somehow this public structure was not properly kept up - particularly after Peter Folger's death in 1690. It did serve as the first school, however. Also in 1675 Nathaniel and Mary built a house with a living room large enough to hold town meetings - the original so-called Parliament House. This building now stands on the southeast side of the small square on which the present Baptist church was built (on Pine Street). In 1690 a second Parliament House was built by Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. It was in this house that Nantucket Monthly Meeting was born. It now stands almost unchanged on the small square at the head of Main Street at the corner of Gardner Street. It is important however to bear in mind that Nantucket Town was not laid out during the lifetime of Peter Folger, nor during that of Mary Starbuck. The village they knew is now represented only by the so-called oldest "Sunset Hill" house built in 1686, (built, incidentally, to celebrate the healing of the breach between the proprietors and the town).

Most of Mary's eight children were born in the older Parliament House. Her daughter, Mary, the eldest, 1663-1699, was in fact the first white child concieved on the island. She was born in Madakat and she married a son of Sarah Gardner in 1691. This was the year that New York received a royal charter allowing that Marthas Vineyard, Nantucket, Cape Cod and old Plymouth were to be assigned to the new royal colony of Massachusetts. Mary's second child, Elizabeth, 1665-1706, was probably born at Capaum, not at Madakat as was her older sister. She was married in 1682 to Peter Coffin Jr. her double-first cousin, son of the Chief Justice of New Hampshire. This family was then living on the island thanks to the activities of the Algonquin chief King Philip.

Mary's third child was her son and heir, Nathaniel, 1668-1753, whose middle years from 1708 to 1733 constituted the vital center of the expanding Quaker movements on the island. In 1690 he married Dinah Coffin, daughter of his uncle, James Coffin, the politician, soon to be the first Nantucketer to sit in the Massachusetts colonial legislature. Mary's fourth child, Jethro, 1671-1770, lived into his 100th year, that is into the times of the agitation just preceeding the onset of the American Revolutionary War. He also married a first cousin, in 1694 (in the older Parliament House). She was Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, 1675-1747, daughter of his aunt Dorcas, and the magistrate William Gayer, who welcomed Quaker visitors, after taking office in 1696. (Incidentally Jethro also went in for a long widowhood after Dorcas died).

Mary's fifth child was a third son, Barnabas, 1673-1732, who like his brothers became an active Friend, but unlike them never married. He emigrated to Newport, Rhode Island, after his parents' death, to care for his brother's commercial interests there. The sixth child, a third girl, Eunice, 1674-1766, wed the son of the leading anti-Quaker magistrate on the island in 1695, in the old Parliament House and outlived all her brothers and sisters - as a faithful member of the Congregational Church! In contrast Mary's favorite seventh child, also a daughter, was Priscilla, 1676-1762, who was, like her famous mother, a recorded Quaker minister (and as was her brother Nathaniel). Priscilla was married in 1693 in the older Parliament House to a grandson of Peter Folger, John Coleman Jr., himself timekeeper of the unprogrammed Quaker meetings for worship in the early years. A final eigth child, Hephzibah, 1680-1740, was of particular interest, for she married Thomas Hathaway, town clerk of Dartmouth Township (where New Bedford would be built) in 1698. Both Hathaways joined the Apponegansett Friends Meeting there in progress of being established. Hephzibah Hathaway not only came out in the ministry pretty directly - but she saw to it that the stream of Quaker preachers moving from Rhode Island to Cape Cod and back now looked in on Nantucket. Even though sister-in-law Sarah Austin had little to say to the Great Mary on Quakerism, Mary's youngest child certainly did! Hephzibah Hathaway made her last recorded visit to Nantucket in 1724, seven years after her mother died.

The stream of Quaker preachers first arrived in 1698, incidentally ending the comparative isolation of the island. In 1702 Mary Starbuck was convinced that the Quaker approach was what was needed on this island. We are very much in the debt of John Richardson who recorded dramatically in his Journal, how after landing sleepless at Capaum Harbor, he observed that the windows were taken out of the frames of the "bright rubb'd room" which constituted the greater part of the ground floor of the old Parliament House in order for the overflow of his meeting to hear the visitors, who had come with him. After possibly three others in his company had spoken, John Richardson rose to contend for upwards of an hour with the great woman, to whom he felt was "extended the love of almighty God". He was nearly swept away by the strength of the emotion of the exercise. Many wept openly especially the Great Mary, who finally arose, and in words not unlike those of Margaret Fell, when she first heard George Fox speak, declared that the spiritual basis upon which the Nantucket settlement had been built was now swept away. In other words she then accepted the Quaker approach to religion, one in which waiting upon the inspiration of the inward Christ was necessary to validate judgement. All forms of worship other than spontaneous unprogrammed reacting to the immediate moving of the Holy Spirit were to her now faulty, as were doctrinal and legal opinions not wrought out of similar corporate searching and finding. She and her associates were ready to give the Quaker insight a full ranging trial. Possibly the fact that a new political struggle was brewing on Nantucket contributed to Mary Starbuck's convincement of Quaker principles.

As it happened Stephen Hussey had upheld her father's cause during the upheaval in the 1670s. Now he was ready to fight both the Proprietary and the Town meeting. The Quaker affirmation of peaceableness and "community" meant the outlawing of court cases, at least between and among Quaker members. But when in the end Hussey also started fighting the Meeting as well, he was disowned. What then did the Great Mary think? Her affirmation of the weapons of the "terrible meek", though successful must have given her pause. Her accomplishment in worldly terms could well foreshadow the tone of the whaler's song quoted at the outset of the introductory remarks starting these tapes.

It is more difficult to affirm that Mary (Coffin) Starbuck has been rescued from forgetfulness. Unlike her father, father-in-law and Peter Folger (her minister), she was American born. Her work in life was to found the Nantucket Quaker meeting and this was when she was 59 years of age - on the threshold of being considered elderly. She is remembered on Nantucket vaguely at best. In the Society of Friends her memory is even more cloudy where it exists at all. Yet in one sense Mary Starbuck was an American equivalent of Margaret Fox, wife of the Quaker founder, whose home, Swarthmore Hall in the Lake Country, was the original center from which Quakerism spread, and was nurtured for forty years. The new Parliament House on Nantucket so served for twenty years, but chiefly to expand Quakerism on the far-away island. From 1698 to 1717 when Mary Starbuck died, no less than 89 official visiting Friends made 131 trips to the island. Surely these 89 personalities spread information widely throughout the Quaker world regarding Mary Starbuck's work and influence on Nantucket. Certainly some visitors to Nantucket in the middle years of the 18th century made reference to the Great Mary in their Journals. But no-one alive today knows people who met the Nantucket founder. This historical limitation applies to people living on Nantucket or anywhere else in the world in her time. Thus folk memory fails.

Possibly Margaret Fox heard of Mary Starbuck before the former died in 1702. This was the year that the latter declared her convincement of Quaker principles in company with her son Nathaniel and her daughter Priscilla. Two years later there was sufficient interest to hold weekly meetings for worship - possibly mid-week as well (choosing Thursday morning, as was the old custom when Peter Folger was the Baptist parson). One recent writer speaks of Mary as an eloquent preacher who brought masses of people into Nantucket meeting. I have no evidence of this. Mary Starbuck was a recorded minister, but her role in the women's monthly business meeting was so small as to be practically non-existent. Once perhaps she was appointed to write or help write a quarterly report.

In addition a careful analysis of the growth of Nantucket Monthly Meeting shows a membership of 50 or so at the outset in 1708. (There were possibly two dozen Friends in 1704 on the island). This number grew to about 75 when the Great Mary died. Most people joined meeting by deciding to marry under its care - that is they elected to live

out the Quaker way of life in practice. The only marked exception to this generalisation was the decision of the Macy family to come into the meeting in 1711 or 1712. One of four brothers married in, and the three others already wed brought their wives in with them. The Macys were an important family on the island. In fact their grandfather, Thomas Macy, (a cousin of Governor Mayhew's) was the prime mover in settling Nantucket. Thomas Sr. was also a Baptist lay-preacher like Edward Starbuck. During the 1670s he was Peter Folger's closest associate, and by that token Tristram Coffin's sharpest opponent. The Macys were a tight knit family, genuinely liberal. They went to Nantucket as a result of being fined for entertaining Quakers when Quakers were being hanged on Boston Common. They had no sympathy with the ban on Quaker visits to the island which lasted until 1696. Under these circumstances the four Macy brothers were suspicious of the Coffin family, including very probably suspicion also of Mary Starbuck. But in 1711, the year the meetinghouse was constructed, they made an informal pact with the Starbucks and joined the meeting. I think it unlikely that Mary's reputed eloquence had much to do with this decision. Far more likely may have been the influence of Sarah (Starbuck) Austin, who went back home to Dover, New Hampshire, in 1711. She was able to verbalize Quaker egalitarianism in ways her brother Nathaniel Starbuck could never do. She had one foot only in the Nantucket community: one was on the mainland. Furthermore she spoke the language of her father, Edward Starbuck, a language clearly understood by Thomas Macy's grandsons. In 1711 there was need to construct wharfs on the Great Harbor as whaling was now twenty years on from the days of the visit of Ichabod Paddack, and had taken to off-shore sloop enterprise. It was a year or so afterwards that deep sea whaling was undertaken. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. had become the principal financier of this industry. It was the turn of the Macys to join him in a wide informal partnership. Could Quakerism offer the solvent or lubricant to keep true liberalism and democracy effective? The answer would seem in the end to have been in the negative if we consider the New Bedford whaling song. It is perhaps not without interest to note that William Rotch's mother was born Love Macy.

Mary Starbuck is credited along with her daughter, Priscilla Coleman with initiating anti-slavery sentiment and action on the island. Certainly Nantucket took one of the earliest anti-slavery stands encountered in Quaker history (1716). Probably the administration of Algonquins who were "bound over" to service for a number of years for such peccadillos as stealing or destroying property when drunk, led Mary and Priscilla to consider the justice of holding persons in bondage for life. We know that John Farmer, who visited the island in 1713 and 1716, warned of the evil of slavery, making much impression on the islanders. Farmer however ran afoul of the Quaker merchants of Newport who made money in the slave trade and was eventually disowned. It was William Rotch who finally moved the Massachusetts legislature to take steps to abolish slavery in Massachusetts in company with Paul Cuffee, a half black-half Algonquin native from Cuttyhunk. Cuffee significantly was a member of what is now Westport monthly meeting west of New Bedford.

Only two of Mary's children pre-deceased her. They were her two eldest - two daughters - Mary and Elizabeth. Neither lived long enough to join Nantucket meeting. Mary went first in 1699. Her widower remarried three times. Notwithstanding his skepticism, all eight of their children joined meeting. The two daughters were recorded in the ministry, and the six sons served as elders or overseers. Elizabeth lost her husband also in 1699 and remarried in 1700 only to die in 1706 (without children by this second husband). Most of the seven children by her first husband went to live on the mainland with the family of their paternal grandfather - the Chief Justice of New Hampshire. (The eldest of these was wed in 1701 in Boston where she became a Quaker, but probably after her grandmother had done so on Nantucket). Only she and her two sisters (who stayed on Nantucket) were Quakers. The one son who stayed on Nantucket married a puritan in 1706. Like his aunt Eunice and her four children they stayed well away from meeting. Mary's favorite seventh child, Priscilla, had eight children (one after Mary's death). Two were ministers: Nathaniel Coleman and Elihu Coleman. Three were elders. Three were more nominal members.

Among Mary's sons, her heir Nathaniel Jr. had ten children. His seven daughters were: one minister, two elders, one overseer, and three ordinary members. One son was an elder; another was an overseer and the third less interested. The other of Mary's sons with children, Jethro, had five daughters and two sons. The girls consisted of two elders, one overseer and two ordinary members. One son was a minister; the other was an overseer. Thus on the distaff side Mary Starbuck left six ministering descendants, and seven elders or overseers. On the side of her sons she left three ministers and ten elders and overseers. Thus her family including her grandchildren consisted of 52 people of whom ten were Quaker ministers and seventeen were elders or overseers. Eleven were not Friends at all and twelve were run of the mill members. Few Quakers of any period in history can equal this record. It was not Mary Starbuck's eloquence which allowed for the meeting to grow. It was the natural population explosion, typified by her own family. Naturally the soundness of her judgement in yielding to the Quaker ethic, which obviously filled a need on the island, had much to do with the effect she had on her own family as well as on her fellow townspeople.

Tape Two, Side One LEACH. WHY NANTUCKET QUAKERS?

CHAPTER III - MARY SLOCOMB (1-171)

In Which the Daughter of the Founder of the Oldest Quaker Meeting in America mobilized support for the infant Nantucket Meeting

Obviously, Mary (Holder) Slocomb, 1662-1737, was no Nantucketer. What then has she to do with the island? By herself there is no reason to cite her name. She apparently visited the island in 1704, when the meeting for worship started, and in 1716 and 1717 when Mary Starbuck was ending her earthly career. That this visitor was a great-great-niece of the Ann Hutchinson whom it will be recalled was driven out of Salem after Roger Williams was forced to depart to found Rhode Island, places her a bit in American colonial history. A cousin was none other than the Quakeress Mary Dyer whom the Boston authorities hanged on Boston Common. Mary Slocomb's father, Christopher Holder, was the founder of the oldest Friends Meeting in America, in Sandwich on Cape Cod in 1656. It was he whom Governor Mayhew so unceremoniously deported from the Vineyard, an act which contributed to Peter Folger's decision to leave the Vineyard. Captain Peleg Slocomb, Mary's husband, was born a Rhode Islander Quaker, convinced there. Together they founded in Dartmouth Township (Massachusetts) the monthly meeting of that name in 1699. They financed and built the Apponeganset meetinghouse (35' × 30') in 1702, which structure served as the model for that built on Nantucket in 1711. They set the example which led Thomas Hathaway and his wife Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway to build the Acushnet meetinghouse (near the future site of New Bedford) in 1704. They encouraged the building of meetinghouses in Sandwich (1704), in Falmouth (1705) and in Yarmouth (1706) as well as set about organizing preparative meetings at each of these locations.

Certainly Peleg not only accompanied his wife to Nantucket in 1704 and in 1717, but had the distinction of transporting John Richardson of Yorkshire, whose ministry led to Mary Starbuck's decision to become a Friend in 1702. Slocomb, in speaking of that meeting said it was "the like he was never at". And he was back in 1703, 1705, 1708 (when the monthly meeting was created), in 1711 (for the opening of the Nantucket meetinghouse) and in 1719 (when Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. died). Onviously the Slocombs were concerned to give help to the new Quaker community as way opened. Incidentally their son Peleg Slocomb Jr. was along in 1711.

In addition, two of Peleg Slocomb's brothers and his sister, her husband and son, also exercised a lively interest in the budding meeting. One of these was Ebeneezer Slocomb, the founder of Conanicut Island meeting, who is credited with building the great meetinghouse in Newport in 1699. Like Stephen Hussey he had joined Friends under the ministry of George Fox. Ebeneezer was again on the island in 1699, in 1708, in 1709, and in 1717 (when Mary Starbuck died). The other brother, Eleazer Slocomb, served on the 1708 yearly meeting committee named to set up the monthly meeting on Nantucket. Their

sister was Joanna (Slocomb) Mott, wife of Jacob Mott Sr. Joanna was the first woman Friend to visit the island, arriving in 1698, with none other than an ex-governor of Rhode Island, named John Easton (who had the kindness to come back again in 1709). As for Joanna, she made it in 1707 and in 1708. It is difficult to imagine whether the Nantucket Islanders were more amazed to have a matron arrive with a man not her husband, than to discover he had been at one time the chief magistrate of a colony considerably more important than Mayhew's Martha's Vineyard.

Joanna Mott and Governor Easton had brought along with them one Thomas Chalkley, a Philadelphia Quaker merchant with extensive West Indian connections. He, like Richardson and Story, kept a Journal in which he noted that fully two hundred Nantucketers attended his appointed meeting. This was an excellent response for an island with a white population of some 250 alongside twice as many Amerinds. Chalkley was back again in 1704 (to find that some anti-Quaker feelings had crystallized out by that time) and again in 1713 (when he was with John Farmer the anti-slavery advocate). But it was not until 1737 that Thomas Chalkley made it a last time to the island, with appropriately longer and more precise journalistic commentary recorded. It should be noted that five years before in 1732, John Richardson also made it back from Yorkshire, to marvel at a meeting-house thronged with a thousand attenders - partly because as a visitor twenty years before he had been faithful to speak imaginatively to Mary Starbuck.

As for Jacob Mott Sr. he appears to have visited about ten different times: in 1699 with Ebeneezer his brother-in-law, in 1701, 1702, 1707, 1708 on yearly meeting business, in 1710, 1711 and in 1717 (during the period of Mary Starbuck's lifespan). In addition his son and heir, Jacob Mott Jr. also put in in 1699, in 1701, in 1709 and in 1714. It was said that on Nantucket the younger man first felt free to speak in meeting. The Motts are credited with creating the Quaker library on the Island in 1707. Jacob Mott Sr. was also instrumental in bringing along the then incumbent Rhode Island Quaker Governor, Walter Clarke, who had the distinction to be the first man to defend American rights before the Board of Trade in London.

On another visit in 1701 Mott also brought ex-governor John Clarke, who had saved the Rhode Island Charter in 1660. At that time a veteran co-traveller with George Fox, one Thomas Thompson Jr., also of Yorkshire, visited and in 1703 in reporting to London Yearly Meeting he noted the Quaker potential on the island of Nantucket. It was quite clear that Rhode Island was terribly keen to develop Quakerism in southern Massachusetts - and that the effort brought echoes in the heart of the Quaker movement three thousand miles away.

Seventeen hundred and one also produced two exponents of what we now call "women's lib". These were spinster women from Rhode Island: Susannah Freeborn and Ruth Fry; and in 1706 another one, Hope Borden. Susannah made five trips in all: 1701, 1702 (at the Pentecostal

meeting), 1704, 1706 and 1713. She also brought two brothers-in-law along. William Anthony appeared in 1705 and much later in 1726. He was, like most of the other visiting Newport Friends, a merchant. The other was Joseph Wanton, a ship-builder who got some business from the whalers on the island. His visits occured in 1706, 1720 and 1723. Still another Newport merchant was Ephraim Hicks whose four visits took place in 1703, 1706, 1708 and in 1725. Thomas Cornell who came in 1702 also sat in the old Parliament House the day that Nantucket monthly meeting was founded. He then returned in 1709. In the autumn of 1708 Dorcas Easton wife of the ex-governor, appeared with Alice Anthony, sister-in-law of William, to see how the women's monthly meeting was getting on. Alice also made it back again in 1712.

Then in 1715 Ann (Rodman) Richardson, daughter of the first clerk of New England yearly meeting, visited, being through her mother a grandchild of ex-governor Walter Clarke (who had come we recall in 1701). No less than 20 Newport-based Rhode Island Quakers undertook to give aid and counsel to Nantucket meeting in the period up to 1717 (making a total of 48 visits). Obviously Peleg and Mary Slocomb had done a good job in winning over the heart center of New England Quakerism to make it sensitive and responsive to what was going on on Nantucket. It is clear also from this partial analysis of the early official Quaker visitors on the island that a certain symbiosis was in process - Nantucket was discovering the Quaker world, as the Quaker world was discovering Nantucket

CHAPTER IV - THOMAS STORY (171-346)

In Which William Penn's associate initiated the Quaker Meeting on Nantucket

Thomas Story, 1662-1742, William Penn's deputy for his Holy Experiment of Pennsylvania, seems an even less likely candidate to be included in this initial grouping of personalities. But though Thomas Story visited only once in 1704, it was he who persuaded Mary Starbuck to hold meetings for worship with those in town already convinced of the Quaker way of life. Also in his extensive Journal account, Story spells out the rather unsatisfactory roles played in the community until that time by Stephen Hussey and John Swain. He had less to say about Sarah Gardner - and no comment at all about the Yarmouth Quaker community which was then being attracted to the island. Yarmouth accounted for a good many of the 25 to 35 people ready to attend meetings on First Days (Sundays) on Nantucket in 1704.

As far as I have been able to discover, six marriages between Nantucket and Bass River folk took place between 1695 and 1707, one about every two years. In two cases the couples continued to reside in Yarmouth. In four (plus one involving a north shore Quakeress) they went to live on the island, where a booming whaling industry offered economic advantage. Three involved children of Stephen Hussey. Incidentally, his brother and sister-in-law, John and Rebecca Hussey, Quakers from New Castle, Delaware, came along to encourage his Quaker participation, in 1703. Two were sons of Zacchary Paddack, nephews of Ichabod the 1696 visitor to Nantucket. Whaling broke down insularity. One of these married a granddaughter of Sarah Gardner - the other a granddaughter of the original Thomas Macy. Three were members of the Gorham family of Yarmouth who wed Nantucket women - one a Hussey, one a Gardner and one a Trott(they a relatively "new" family on the island, the women of which tended to follow in the line marked out by Susannah Freeborn).

Incidentally, Thomas Story noted that when he had got into an argument with Captain John Gardner, the old ex-magistrate, who had kept Friends off the island, (Story had gone to plead unsuccessfully, it turned out, for the life of an Algonquin Indian, Sabo Finch, who had killed his wife when drunk), Susannah Freeborn was able to identify John Gardner's authority for saying Friends were anarchists, as the very same Jane Stokes who had been in violent conflict with George Fox when she visited Nantucket in 1664. When Thomas and Susannah had bested the old irascible Captain, Priscilla Gardner, John's wife, burst into tears, troubled that her husband should prove so impolite to his guests. She may also have feared for his health, for the old man died in two years time. A not dissimilar story is recounted regarding an argument Thomas Story had with Martha Hussey, Stephen's wife.

A bit later Thomas Story refused a primitive wrestling match with two puritan missionaries to the Indians. Probably they hoped to impress the Algonquins. In fact Story noted that the puritan "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" was trying desperately to get a toehold among the white settlers on the island. They did not succeed however until after Mary Starbuck's death. About 1719 one Nathan Prince did spend most of the year as a missionary for the Congregational Church on the island. And about 1725 this effort was redoubled when the Reverend Timothy White appeared. Possibly in 1730 the Old Vestry of the Congregational Church was built, then out near Capaum Harbor. In 1728 Timothy married Susannah Gardner, granddaughter of the man who had quoted Jane Stokes.

Thomas Story credits both Susannah Freeborn and another spinster Quakeress from Long Island, Esther Palmer, with winning over the Nantucket population to accept women's preaching in public. (Incidentally, Esther married in 1711!) Story's dictum on Mary Starbuck was that she was "a wise discreet woman well read in the Scriptures". Of John Swain and Stephen Hussey he wrote they had "not been faithful, nor of good report, but a stumbling block in the way of the weak". Both incidentally owned slaves. Hussey's will in 1718 disposed of them specifically to certain of his children.

Finally it would appear that Thomas Story not only encouraged the founding of the Nantucket meeting for worship, but did the same thing for Edgartown in the same year of 1704! John Coffin in residence there since 1668 had been a major in the Dukes County Armed Forces. But by 1704 he was nearly 60 years of age and retired. His wife Deborah (Austin) Coffin was a daughter of the Quaker minister, Sarah Austin. In the light of these facts they agreed to allow a Friends meeting to gather in their living room at least occasionally. So started the "indulged" meeting in Edgartown which lasted with ups and downs for the better part of a century. Already one Edgartown born woman had joined Yarmouth meeting. She was Mary (Daggett) Howes, a widow in 1700, who joined her niece by marriage, Abigail (Hussey) Howes on Nantucket after the latter lost her husband, who was drowned on their honeymoon trip across Nantucket Sound. Mary Howes was thus a founding member of Nantucket monthly meeting, as were John and Deborah Coffin. Meetings for worship in Edgartown were held in the so-called John Coffin residence on North Water Street, a house built in 1703. Matthew Mayhew, then representative in the Boston legislature, probably regretted this turn of events, as he had protested the formation of Nantucket County in 1695. In time Vineyard folk came to accept the Edgartown Quaker group - even to be proud that a small minority on the island wore bonnets and straight brimmed hats and spoke the "thee and thou" speech.

In 1715 Benjamin Holme a visiting Friend from Penrith, Cornwall, (the first to be given a "returning minute" of approval incidentally from Nantucket Friends) went to Edgartown, to attend the Congregational Church and engage the Minister, Samuel Wiswall, in a theological debate at the end of the church service. Holme's Journal shows that Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. went with him and that they were courteously received. Tombstones for John Coffin and Samuel Wiswall stand fairly near one another in the oldest Tower Hill cemetary near Edgartown. (There I used to love to walk as a small child enjoying the feel of the lichen under my shoes). Holme's Journal notes that in 1717 he received a letter from Nathaniel Jr. giving an account of the Great Mary's death. Does this letter survive somewhere? Holme visited Nantucket a second time in 1716.

It would appear that the Baptists were still hoping to win back a Nantucket congregation as late as 1703, when Samuel Bowmas, an English Friend of wide experience, noted that he had had a friendly theological debate with one Baptist missionary on the island. In 1706 Dr. John Fothergill Sr. of Yorkshire, made special reference in his Journal, and in 1707 to London Yearly Meeting, recording the attendance of the Algonquins at his appointed meetings. The impression given is that the puritans and Baptists had given up the unequal struggle. Then in 1708 appeared Patrick Henderson a "good like black man" as he was described by Thomas Story and "wise and learned" and "of extraordinary parts". Henderson, an Irishman, played his role in Nantucket history by carrying the request of Nantucket Friends to New England Yearly Meeting in Newport, for them to have their own official monthly business meeting on the island.

Some years later Patrick Henderson, then removed from Londonderry to Dublin, was thrust into the same prison cell in Ireland with Thomas Story, who was then living in London rather than in Philadelphia. What an extraordinary coincidence that the man who inspired the meeting for worship on Nantucket would so find himself incarcerated in the same prison cell with the man who saw the request for monthly meeting carried to fruition! Both were undoubtedly very able men. In the case of Story, he might well have become clerk of London Yearly Meeting had he not been pursued by an embittered woman whose accusations clouded his reputation, though he was cleared of her charges. Did Nantucketers ever hear of this story? And if they did what did they think about it? Thomas Story had been William Penn's deputy. He was the friend and confidant of many non-Quakers including Peter the Great, Czar of all the Russias. And he was probably not unaware of the variety of love of which complex human beings are capable. But in the 18th century rational conservatism was safer than revolutionary enthusiasm in any form.

CHAPTER V - STEPHEN HUSSEY (347-478)

In Which George Fox's convert was disowned for reviving the proprietary property quarrel

Stephen Hussey, 1635-1718, was probably the only Nantucketer to have met the Quaker founder George Fox. His father, Christopher Hussey, was an absentee full share-holding proprietor as far as the Nantucket situation was concerned. Though Stephen was over 25 years of age when the island was settled, he only put in an appearance when he was over 35 - and still a bachelor! We know little of his early career. He was trained in law it would seem. Possibly he was out to make a fortune in the West Indies when Fox appeared. We know that both he and Sarah Gardner were arrested in Boston in 1673 or 1674 - when persecution of Quakers had considerably softened.

On Nantucket in 1676 Hussey wed Martha Bunker, step-sister of John Swain, the original Quaker on the island. But her mother Jane (Godfrey) Bunker-Swain was no Friend, nor were any of Martha's siblings. Naturally they were married out-of-meeting. In a later and stricter age Stephen would have been disowned - put out of the Society of Friends - for this act. As it was, he was finally disowned anyway.

Florence Anderson cites him speaking to Captain John Gardner, during the 1670 revolution, saying, "Mind your own business", which has no Quaker ring to it, no matter how examined. Thomas Story observed in 1704 that Hussey was at odds with most of his neighbours. Stephen even went to far as to send his son George to Harvard College to train up in law and so defeat his adversaries. George, however, proved to be too much of a practical joker so that he was "sent down" for being caught wearing women's clothes. In fact whatever training George got benefitted his father's enemies as it turned out.

Somewhat less than a decade before Hussey appeared on Nantucket, the proprietors introduced sheep farming, which occupation suited the moors wonderfully. Most of the island was held by the proprietors as common and undivided land in a rough kind of socialism, as it were. The trouble was that the original full share proprietors like Orwell's pigs in Animal Farm were more equal than the half-share proprietors and other even less well endowed new arrivals. Stephen Hussey came to occupy his father's full share. Hussey was thus automatically a member of Judge Jethro Coffin's party. In one sense Stephen's continued contentiousness was the die-hard echo of the one last full share holder who would not accept the fact that the town had won the battle against the proprietary (in the 1670s).

When in 1702 Stephen petitioned to pasture more cattle and sheep than his quota would seem to allow: Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. wrote up the account of the political quarrel of the 1670s, and Nathaniel Jr. copied the 1689 agreement into the town records, when he succeeded William Gayer as town clerk and clerk of the proprietary in 1705, (beginning to use the Quaker numerical calendar in 1707). But

Hussey did not wait for permission. He put out the extra sheep, and then sued the town officials when they were impounded. In 1706 he examined the town records on the subject. But by 1708 the matter lay fallow, at least to the extent that Hussey could sign the petition for the setting up of the monthly meeting, in company with the Starbucks and others.

Very possibly Jedidiah Allen of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, who appeared in 1703 was asked to talk with Hussey, for he was a member of the Governor's Council for New Jersey. Allen was an important political figure. Certainly John Kinsey Jr. who followed Allen was praised up by Thomas Story for making the Quaker way attractive on the island. Kinsey was from Woodbrige, N.J., and a man of wide political experience and good sense.

Meanwhile in the autumn of 1708 Hussey sued Stephen Coffin Jr. (Quaker) and other select men for impounding 186 sheep. In 1709 Hussey lost his case with at least two Quakers sitting on the jury. An appeal then went uselessly to the General Court (or legislature) in Boston. And the town formed a committee to discuss Hussey's title to land. Two very prominent Pennsylvania members appeared at this time and no doubt counselled on the case. Griffith Owen, who had been William Penn's private doctor, had incidentally been instrumental in setting up the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in 1701, and cared for the creation of North Carolina and Virginia Yearly Meetings when they were created. The other, John Salkeld, coordinated the visits of the hundreds of official traveling Friends in the colonies. And this time Salkeld arranged for Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and Nathaniel Gardner (Sarah's only Quaker offspring) now a minister, to attend Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1709. Incidentally Dr. Owen attended the terminal illness of Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, Minister Nathaniel's puritan wife. William Baldwin of Middletown, Pennsylvania, was over with them. His Journal of 1709 speaks of a "tender visitation on the inhabitants of the island". Baldwin got back in 1716 while Owen (of Haverford, Penna) and Salkeld (of Chester, Penna) made it in 1717. John Salkeld managed a visit in 1730 as well.

During the first decade Rhode Island monthly meeting Friends from Newport and its vicinity had had special care to nurture the Nantucket Quaker growth. Once the monthly meeting had come into existence, it would seem that (by general consent) Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Friends were considered more useful to advise particularly on the prickly Hussey case. Certainly Thomas Story was the first journalist to make it clear what he as a Philadelphian thought of Stephen Hussey.

Late in 1711 the town acted under the leadership of Stephen Coffin Jr. to impound 95 more of Hussey's sheep. Immediately the latter started more cases at law. So in the spring of 1713 the meeting appointed a newcomer to the town, a merchant, Joseph Marshall,

to deal with Stephen on behalf of the meeting. Stephen quickly replied that as some of the select men of the town were not Quakers the meeting had no jurisdiction in the case. The meeting thereupon asked Stephen Coffin Jr. to reinforce Joseph Marshall in emphasizing that Quaker members must not sue other members whatever the circumstances. Thomas Chalkley was in town at that time. Did he encourage the meeting to deal firmly with Hussey? They had met fifteen years before.

It was just at this point that Nantucket monthly meeting disowned its first member. She was Tabatha (Trott) Frost-Brown, sister of one of the women Friends who had married into Yarmouth meeting a few years before. Tabatha's first husband had been a schoolteacher. In fact it would appear he took on from Eliezer Folger. In any case Brown got bored with teaching and disappeared to become a privateer - or pirate if you will. Rumor had it that he had been killed. So Tabatha promptly married a young doctor who had offered his services to the island. Bigamy was not too strong a term to use to describe the situation as it developed. Tabatha was thus put out of meeting and her mother, Anna Trott, stepped down as "timer" of the women's meeting. Tabatha and secundus husband retired to Newport. Interestingly a grandson by her first husband later joined Nantucket meeting.

With the example of Tabatha Frost before him, Stephen Hussey offered to withdraw his second batch of suits if the meeting would persuade the town to withdraw its claims. He had managed ad interim to get Stephen Coffin committed to the "new" jail (built in 1708) along with some others of the select men.

Apparently this last appeal led to a four year's truce. But in 1717 Stephen Hussey, then aged 82, re-activated his suits. Jethro Starbuck was asked to see if he could persuade the old war-horse to "avoid contests and janglings", but to no avail.

Tape Two, Side Two (1-116)

John Cadwallader, a prominent Philadelphia Friend was on hand to strengthen the pen of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. as he wrote the final minute cutting off Friend Stephen Hussey. Once again in 1718 the old ex-Quaker again appealed to the General Court in Boston, before death interrupted his inflexible course.

At least Stephen Hussey proved that the old proprietors still constituted an iron fist clothed as it were in the velvet glove of the Quaker Book of Discipline. Ironically his lawyer son, George, married Elizabeth Starbuck, the clerk's daughter, in 1717. So George did not inherit his father's precious law books. They went to Stephen's namesake, a grandson, (son of Batchelor and Abigail Hussey). Martha, his puritan widow, got his house, land and a negress slave, Sarah. Puella, a Quakeress living on the Cape, got nothing. Abigail (Hussey) Howes-Marshall, since 1712 wife of merchant Joseph, got £35. Silvanus, head of the whaling fleet, and discoverer of the

sperm whale about 1713, inherited Mark a black slave. Batchelor was to share the sheep and cattle with his brothers. Mary (Hussey) Worth, who alone of Stephen's children ministered in meeting, got £70. George who was as nearly forgotten as it was decent to do got practically nothing. And finally, Theodate, still unmarried and Stephen's favorite child was given £104. There were 18 grandchildren making a total of 25 descendants - all more or less Quaker. Was Stephen Hussey buried in the old Quaker graveyard out by Elihu Coffin's house - or in the original town graveyard next to it? This we don't know.

What about the other Friend Thomas Story criticized? John Swain lived at Polpis a good many miles east and north of the Capaum settlement. Like so many of the early settlers he enjoyed a long widowerhood - thirty years, until 1715 when he died. John apparently "supplied" when Baptist minister Peter Folger was incapacitated. So with the appearance of the monthly meeting and its informal group of ministers and elders, he was chosen to be one of them in 1709. Only one of his eight children was then still at home, and she became the only Quaker member of the lot. At his death John Swain gave her a special gift of five shillings in a not too large estate (£293, 8d). He was aged 82.

Two years after John Swain died, the founding member Mary Starbuck died aged 73. And then in 1724 the last of the three original Nantucket Quakers passed away. She was, of course, Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, then aged 92, mother of nine children, of whom six had died including her only Quaker child, minister Nathaniel Gardner (in England in 1714 as it happened - the first Nantucket Quaker to visit the "old country"). Sarah Gardner left well over 200 living descendants on the island, constituting about 40 percent of its white population: about half of them members of meeting. Some of these were elders and overseers and one or two ministering Friends were to be found amongst them. But appropriately Sarah's record in this regard cannot touch that of Mary Starbuck. From Sarah Gardner, however, is to be discovered the first Nantucket Quaker distaff grouping of matriarchal descendants, known for lack of a better name as the "Sarah line". These included four daughters, nine granddaughters, and fifteen great-granddaughters who left female descendants on the island. Sarah's four sons, sixteen grandsons and thirty-eight great-grandsons all of course left Gardner descendants similarly on Nantucket.

CHAPTER VI - JUDITH WILCOX (117-362)

In Which Quaker control of the sheep raising occupation was insured

Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard-Wilcox, 1678-1760, carried a jaw-breaking name which goes far to equal that of Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin-Varney. No-one of course called these worthy Friends by their quadruple-ply names. But survival would seem to have infused an especial virtue to the worthy matron especially one who outlived two husbands. It would almost seem to have allowed for the woman Friend in question to be considered automatically worthy of eldership, if not of recording in the ministry, to say nothing of a capacity to act as an overseer. Admittedly successful coping with two or more husbands calls for a certain virtuosity. In the case of Judith Wilcox she rose magnificently to her situation.

Judith Coffin, as she was born, was the fifth child (second daughter) of Mary Starbuck's youngest brother, Stephen Coffin, and his puritan wife, Mary (Bunker) Coffin (who was a sister to the "bigoted" puritan Martha (Bunker) Hussey). Three of her sisters were puritans like their mother. One brother, Peter Coffin Jr. (who tangled with Stephen Hussey) and two other sisters were members of meeting. (Three brothers stayed clear of both meeting and puritanism).

Judith was 19 when she married Peter Folger (son of Eliezer the schoolteacher) namesake of the Baptist preacher who was his grandfather. The wedding took place in 1697, before Thomas Turner of County Essex and High Copperthwaite of Flushing, Long Island, appeared as the first of the official Quaker visitors (Hugh was back again in 1705). Peter Folger (the younger) however died in 1707, leaving Judith with four minor children. But in 1709 she remarried as the third wife of Nathaniel Barnard Jr. (whose first wife had been Elizabeth (Starbuck) Coffin, second of the Great Mary's daughters). After Elizabeth's death in 1706, Barnard had married Dorcas Manning who bore him one child. But she too died in 1708. It was quite reasonable for a widower with a baby daughter to join forces with a widow with four small children. Nathaniel and Eunice's marriage was the second to be carried out under the care of the Quaker meeting on Nantucket. Nathaniel was aged 39 and Judith 31. Probably because of their presumed maturity exceptionally no committees of enquiry were appointed (which in itself is scarcely creditable considering the mandatory injunction for such in Quaker Books of Discipline). Sixteen witnesses signed their wedding certificate, a copy of which appears in a special book bought for that purpose by the monthly meeting.

It is quite possible that Judith was recognised as a founding member, but it is equally clear that Nathaniel joined the meeting in 1709 by marrying under its care. To marry under the meeting was in effect a declaration of intent to live out one's life as a Friend. Nathaniel and Judith had four more children - birthright members - as it was the custom so to inscribe them (in another book of membership purchased for that purpose). Then in 1718 Nathaniel died, aged 48. Four years later in 1722 Judith married again, under the care of the meeting, as the second wife of John Wilcox, then aged 47, who was a minister of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting and who moved his membership

to Nantucket monthly meeting at that time. Batchelor Hussey and John Macy (the younger) were asked to enquire into Stephen's clearness while women Friends appointed no-one once again. When Anna Trott had ceased timing the women's meeting in 1713, Judith had taken on the job. She was already considered to be an elder - that is one with spiritual perception asked to sit with and counsel with the ministering Friends. For some unknown reason, possibly because he was an outsider or was too filled with the importance of marrying into the establishment on Nantucket, Stephen Wilcox was dealt with in 1725 for "disorderly walking", minister that he was. Batchelor Hussey was naturally asked to have a word, along with Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. Apparently this was a sufficient word.

Stephen and Judith (she aged 44 in 1722) had one more son. They thus raised ten children. Fifteen and seventeen years later, in 1747 and in 1749, Stephen Wilcox Jr., Judith's stepson, (an elder in Dartmouth) was observed as visiting the island. Stephen Sr. had died in 1736 aged 61. Judith had served on sixteen marriage committees from 1718 to 1731, when she stopped her meeting activity except to continue to sit head of the women's meeting till her death in 1760, when she was aged 82.

Judith was, of course, a first cousin of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and favorite sister of Stephen Coffin Jr., who was in turn Nathaniel's co-worker in town affairs. Stephen Coffin Jr. also was accounted a minister. In 1716 he served on the committee to build a new town house (34' × 26') - incidentally used for Congregational Church services until their meetinghouse (the old vestry) was constructed about 1730. Stephen Coffin was the protagonist in the Stephen Hussey conflict. I think it would be fair to say that for him Quakerism was subservient to the ends of good government typified by proprietary control. His ideal was his cousin Nathaniel Starbuck who was town clerk, proprietary clerk and monthly meeting clerk (not to mention clerk of the select meeting of ministers and elders). Stephen was one of those in favor of having Indians bound over to service for breaking the white man's law. One doubts if he felt strongly about lifetime slavery. In any case Coffin undertook some fifteen meeting appointments from 1709 to 1722, ten of them having to do with marriages. At least once he attended Quarterly Meeting in Newport (in 1715). But when aged 50 in 1725 he died - was suddenly cut off. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. who had relied on Nathaniel Gardner (his brother-in-law) after 1709 to 1714 had now another man to turn to as Stephen Coffin Jr. had filled the role of suppliant until his death. Then it would be the turn of Nathaniel Coleman, Starbuck's nephew.

It will be recalled that the old full share proprietor Tristram Coffin (Stephen's grandfather) lived out his last years with his youngest son, Stephen Coffin Sr. At Tristram's death in 1681 it was agreed to operate his proprietary shares and others in the Coffin family as a bloc. The operator was first Stephen Coffin Sr. but during the period of growing Quaker activity this responsibility fell to Stephen Coffin Jr, who so acted. Thus he became

essentially the manager of the sheep herding occupation. It is true that from 1690 onward, and particularly after 1713, the fields that were more profitably furrowed were the seas, in which whales were to be found. But sheepraising and its basic land ownership foundation were still vital for determining who could accumulate wealth on the island.

Possibly Judith Wilcox stepped in to help her grandfather after 1725 till old Stephen died in 1734, aged 82. Probably Judith's younger brother Paul, stayed within the orbit of whaling. In any case he too died in 1729. Stephen Sr. left a last will and testament in which Paul's children were to inherit his land, while his three non-Quaker daughters were to inherit the remainder of his estate, except that Judith's daughters were to share in a quarter of this. One of these was the wife of Nathaniel Coleman, the then active collaborator with the universal men's clerk. Very probably both Nathaniel Coleman and his brother, Elihu Coleman, felt that the Coffin shares in the proprietary should be kept intact, i.e. held in common ownership by the family.

In going through the papers of this large and complicated estate, Stephen Coffin Sr.'s executrix trio found an unrecorded deed signed and dated in 1664 by Tristram Coffin, in which the first Nantucket magistrate gave over half of his lands at Quaise to his daughter Mary Starbuck. Either the old magistrate forgot about this deed or he changed his mind about recording it. Whatever, in 1738 Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner sued for her share of her mother's deed. Now Eunice was a strong Congregationalist, not at all interested in keeping up blocs of proprietary shares by which Quaker control of wealth on the island was strengthened. Eunice claimed £500, or equivalent "sheep commons" as the rights in the proprietary were called, equal to 60 square rods. The case was lost in the Superior Court of Judicature in Boston. Ironically George Hussey defended the point of view of the proprietary. It seemed that Mary Starbuck's Quaker inheritance was not to be questioned by the state church. In fact Timothy White the Congregational minister who probably encouraged Eunice Gardner in her action, complained in a letter written not so long before (1731) that he was surrounded by a strong body of "hereticks". In fact they prevented his opening a Congregational church day school.

Probably Judith Wilcox worked hard to keep the proprietary land from being divided. Her third child (second daughter) Anna (Folger) Starbuck, 1703-1748, was the wife of minister William Starbuck, and was known as the "Queen of the Quakers". For twenty years Anna was in effect the social arbiter of the community. Her older sister, Kezia (Folger) Gardner-Starbuck, 1699-1749, was an elder, first as wife of Jethro Gardner (grandson of both Sarah Gardner and Mary Starbuck) and then as second wife of Paul Starbuck, the "crown prince" in that family. A younger sister was Mary (Folger) Gardner-Coleman, 1705-1763, first wife of Nathaniel Gardner Jr. and then of minister Nathaniel Coleman. The son in this grouping was Captain Daniel Folger, 1701-1744, who married his cousin Abigail Folger, daughter of the John who was born in Edgartown. Captain Daniel was lost at sea in 1744.

Judith's fifth child, Elizabeth (Barnard) Coleman, 1710-1729, died in childbirth, soon after marrying elder Barnabas Coleman. Peter Barnard, 1719-1775, sixth of Judith's offspring, married Anna Starbuck, daughter of the universal clerk. The next two both died young and unmarried: Eunice Barnard, 1714-1727, and Nathaniel Barnard (third), 1717-1743. Finally, John Wilcox, 1725- ?, the fifth child, married out in 1748, to be disowned for this "sin" in 1771.

The detail with which this family situation has been dealt illustrates how greatly in-grown was the island marital structure, and also demonstrates to an extraordinary degree how much the "establishment" of Nantucket was Quaker dominated.

CHAPTER VII - NATHANIEL STARBUCK JR. (363-525)

In Which the Universal Clerk, founder of monthly meeting, financed both deep sea whaling and Quakerism

Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, Stephen Hussey and Stephen Coffin Jr. were all concerned with a fundamentally agricultural, sheepraising economy. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., 1668-1753, moved the island into a mercantile industrialization which allowed for an urbanization otherwise unthinkable. It is said that one early settler had a vision that the sea would be the field to plow and furrow, once the island's bare sandy soil was used up. Of course, Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. understood that shore whaling was vital at least as a secondary occupation. His namesake certainly comprehended that fact, particularly as he had been trained as a blacksmith by none other than Peter Folger. Successful shore whaling was not only dependent on twelve foot Coatue cedar boats, but on strong iron oar-locks and especially on sound iron harpoons.

When about 1710 or so it seemed economical to concentrate whaling try-pots on what is now Nantucket Harbor, rather than to situate them on isolated beach heads about the island, Nathaniel Jr. set about drawing the wharf-building Macy clan into a loose partnership with him - not only in the whaling enterprise but into the meeting. Venture capital was short until 1713 - significantly the time when the ocean going Spermaceti whale was discovered.

It seems that Nathaniel's first cousin, William Gayer Jr., had returned to England there to marry an heiress both of a title and of a property of consequence (daughter of his uncle, Sir Henry Gayer). As fate turned, the young couple suddenly died, so that Sir William left a fortune of some £3,000, which went to his two sisters, and, romantically, to his original choice for marriage - a Nantucket girl who had refused him. The money was naturally invested in whaling sloops and gear - which according to the sparse record we have, increased considerably in the next few years. The three heiresses were all close relatives of Nathaniel Starbuck. Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck was wife of his brother Jethro, and his close associate as clerk of the women's meeting - as Nathaniel was of the men's. Damaris (Gayer) Coffin was wife of Captain Nathaniel Coffin, in turn brother to Nathaniel's wife, Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck. And Abigail (Coffin) Fitch, (who had refused to marry William Gayer Jr.) was Nathaniel's eldest niece (a double niece in fact) - and a member of Boston particular and Salem monthly meeting.

At this stage a preliminary consideration must be raised: was the bloody massacre of the huge, intelligent, sea-going mammal consistent with the radical pacifism of the Quaker religion? In our day when ecological considerations make us more aware of the unity of all life on this planet, the whaling industry is regarded as highly questionable. But as we know, wealth is goods. And the amassing of property has always been essential for the development of civilization, of leisure to make life more worth its living. Most

religious human beings (at least Christians) make the assumption that as man is self-conscious, he is not unlike God, and therefore man has the inherent right to rule the earth - or at least to be a steward of the earth in the name of God. Quakers have generally accepted this latter gloss, but with the important proviso of belief that God is actively continually involved in His creation, so that a partnership comes from searching out His will in the collective mysticism of the unprogrammed meeting for worship, and in the group discipline of the collective meeting for business. Here no votes are taken, but the general will of the meeting is formulated by the clerk for immediate approval of members present. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. was a sensitive man. He had to be, in order to serve the meeting for a quarter century as its first clerk.

Did he ever question his vocation in butchering, or arranging for other Quakers to butcher harmless sea mammals in order to light the lamps of the streets of Europe and America (at least in urban centers)? If not, what did the brutal livelihood do to the inner psyche of Quakerism on the island, (and in New Bedford for that matter)? It is clear what pre-occupation with vengeance in Moby Dick spelled out for that crew of men. Was there something Moby Dick-like in the eventual collapse of Quakerism on Nantucket? These questions and others must be raised at later intervals - with at least some answers provided.

It seems unlikely that Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. ever went on a deep sea whaling expedition. He was 55 or so when that development took place. But he could not escape the facts of the massacre of whales, nor when an east wind blew did anyone in Nantucket town doubt what the terrible stench of the try-works implied. It is interesting to reflect that when Friends moved their meeting from its original moorland site to Nantucket town, they built the great meetinghouse as far away from the harbor front as they could and still serve the town. Of course, it may be argued that the location symbolized a compromise between whaling and the earlier livelihood of sheep raising. Incidentally the financing of the great meetinghouse was Nathaniel's last great active work as far as Quaker property was concerned.

At the initial monthly meeting for business (for men) on the 28th June, 1708, Nathaniel was directed to procure land for a meeting-house and burial ground. This he arranged in 1710 in a manner which, while not underhanded, certainly deceived the Massachusetts authorities, in a colony in which there was a state church and one which by law was subsidized by public funds. In 1710 Nathaniel, who was Town Clerk (he succeeded his uncle, William Gayer Jr. in that post in 1705), and Clerk of the Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands (the original land owners) arranged to grant an acre of his own in fee simple to the meeting - without compensation. The Proprietary thereupon granted him an acre of undivided land, and the town ratified the deal. Similarly in the years just preceeding the great American revolutionary war, two acres on Saratoga Street were committed to the meeting, payment free. Possibly the Congregationalists got their

original acre in the 1725-1730 period in the same way, and later the land on Prospect Hill surrounding their present church building. They deserved to if they did not.

Normally when monthly meetings are created, a group within such a meeting asks for the right to divide off, amoeba-like. Once permission has been granted the quarterly meeting to which the original monthly meeting is attached ratifies the decision, and indicates to which quarterly meeting the newly formed monthly meeting will be attached - bearing in mind geographical propinquity, number of constituent meetings and so forth. But in the case of the little Nantucket meeting for worship, which was recognised to exist from 1704 onwards, no attempt was made to associate its members with any already established monthly meeting. The nearest monthly meeting was Sandwich with five preparative meeting groups scattered from Buzzards Bay to Nantucket Sound. Mary (Holder) Slocumb had been a member there, till in 1699 Dartmouth monthly meeting was created to include at least two other groups previously associated with Sandwich monthly meeting, and at least three previously under the care of Rhode Island monthly meeting. Possibly because Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway, Nathaniel's youngest sister, was a member of Dartmouth monthly meeting, it was considered appropriate for that monthly meeting to have a special care for the meeting for worship on Nantucket. Certainly when the nine Nantucket Friends sent their appeal for a monthly meeting, Dartmouth monthly meeting minuted the fact, though normally they should have acted on the appeal.

As it was the request was taken to New England Yearly Meeting in Newport, Rhode Island, by Ebeneezer Slocumb (a member of Rhode Island monthly meeting) and Patrick Henderson (the Irish Quaker visitor from Londonderry). Why to Newport? Probably the answer lay with Nathaniel Starbuck, who was noted by John Richardson in 1702 as the one Nantucketer well on the way to becoming a Quaker ("His heart and home were open to Friends"), even before Mary Starbuck took her dramatic decision. Obviously Nathaniel had joined his mother in her affirmation (as did his sister Priscilla Coleman). And he continued to act as the focal point in the Nantucket Quaker group. In fact he soon started to keep a systematic record of all the "public Friends" who visited the island, the original list of which is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia. (Though the present oldest manuscript dates only from 1715).

Nathaniel Starbuck was critical of Stephen Hussey even before 1708 though they both signed the request for the monthly meeting. (Parenthetically it is interesting to note that neither John Swain nor Sarah Gardner's names appeared here). Hussey had two children married into the compass of the Yarmouth preparative (Sandwich monthly meeting) area. It will be recalled that Ichabod Paddack had introduced shore whaling from that port on the Bass River. Members of his family had similarly married into the budding Nantucket Quaker community. To be attached to Sandwich quarterly meeting might inhibit the growing whaling industry. On the other hand Newport was too far

away to exercise a tight control, and as an urban conglomeration it offered a valuable outlet point for Nantucket whale oil. Furthermore, close association with the government officials of Quaker Rhode Island offered a splendid practical school in opposing the puritan autocracy of Boston, under whose care and that of a royal governor Nantucket was placed. Nathaniel was not only astute economically, he was also a political animal. Incidentally, he is remembered as a lively, wiry, smallish sort of man, an activist if ever there was one. And he was, it must be recalled, Tristram Coffin's grandson.

Later in 1722 after Nathaniel Starbuck Sr.'s estate was settled, Barnabas, Nathaniel's bachelor brother, removed to Newport to look after the Starbuck whaling warehouse there. In his will in 1753 Nathaniel made reference to his land there, and for good measure along the Acushnet River - where New Bedford would be founded - and on Starbuck's Neck in Edgartown - the latter two locations excellent for out-fitting whalers.

In any case, New England Yearly Meeting gathering in mid-June 1708 set up Nantucket monthly meeting to be held on the last Monday of each month, and to be preceeded in June, as it was in 1708, by three days of a special general meeting for worship - Friday, Saturday and Sunday. So at the end of June each year a good number of Quaker notables arrived on the island for its annual jamboree. In stead of two meetings for worship to preceed business, in June seven were laid on. In between there were dinner parties and interesting exchanges of information both political and mercantile. Illustrative of this were the visits of merchants Ephraim Hicks, Joseph Wanton (the ship-builder) and William Barker in the years 1703, 1706, 1708, 1711, 1715, 1720, 1723, 1724, 1725 and 1726. In 1711 for instance the Wanton brothers ship-building firm provided the 30 ton sloop Eagle, which presumably was the ship which blown off shore managed to procure the first Spermaceti whale in 1713. Another striking instance of economic interest lay in the visit Nathaniel made to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1709 (incidentally his one reported visit outside New England), and the return visit of Anthony Morris, the mayor of the city of Philadelphia in 1711 - the man who provided the first public street lamps for any city in America. Who may be supposed to have contracted to supply the oil required?

It is even more unfortunate with Nathaniel Starbuck than with his mother that no economic historian has yet delved into his account books. But we are fortunate that a few of his letters have been preserved. From them one can get some impression of the economic outlook which he held. Naturally Nathaniel was grateful to his Heavenly Father for the incredible prosperity which the island knew in his time. But when pirates captured Nathaniel's son-in-law George Hussey, in 1723, and murdered the six Indians in his crew, the Quaker clerk referred to them in a letter as "gross villains". But possibly care for Amerindians rather than concern for property led him so to express himself.

Close association with his mother's Indian emporium had given Nathaniel insight into their situation. Incidentally they provided half the crews for the early sea going whalers. But the Indians never came into the meeting, nor did they intermarry with Friends. On the Vineyard mingling was in fact easier. As early as 1698 Nathaniel had contributed to the building of two Indian meetinghouses, staffed however by puritan missionaries. On the face of it, this seems strange, for Chalkley, Richardson, Story and company reported holding successful appointed meetings with the natives. Probably Quaker silence was too much a white man's silence. Just as Nathaniel Starbuck was very much an 18th century Quaker, so Quakerism was very much a British phenomenon. Incidentally, in 1731 Nathaniel again subscribed substantially for another Indian meetinghouse.

Nathaniel did leave, of course, a record, which I have examined in detail. This was the vellum covered minute book of the men's monthly meeting which he bought probably in Newport in July 1708 when he and Nathaniel Gardner, were there as the initial representatives to Rhode Island quarterly meeting on behalf of Nantucket monthly meeting. This smallish volume of 247 pages contains the minutes of the men's meeting from 1708 to 1772, a complete record of 68 full years. Its first quarter century was Nathaniel's work. But in those days the record is sparse. Certain trends stand out. For the first five years it would appear that Nathaniel attended quarterly meeting fairly regularly (in July, October and April - never in January). Then the clerk relinquished this responsibility to his brothers Jethro and Barnabas and brother-in-law John Coleman Jr. (who was Judith Wilcox's equivalent in timing the men's meeting). For most of the quarter century Nathaniel was to be found at Yearly Meeting in Newport. There he was unquestionably well-known and respected. As early as 1710 he sat on an arbitration committee to judge a difficult case which came up from Rhode Island monthly meeting. In fact is is almost embarrassing to observe that only a handful of Nantucket Friends took part in quarterly or yearly meeting activities.

As early as June 1709 both Nathaniels were recognized as ministers on Nantucket and asked to have a care over the ministry on the island. Others so acknowledged were Mary Starbuck, John Swain, Sarah (Starbuck) Austin and Stephen Coffin Jr. Elders were only appointed later. No regular meeting of ministers and elders, however, took place until 1728 when Samuel Bownas (of early renown on the island) encouraged the formation of a quarterly select meeting gathering a fortnight before quarterly meeting. Naturally Nathaniel was chosen as its clerk. Unfortunately his minute book in this case is still in private hands and has not in consequence been scrutinized for this account.

Although the records of monthly meeting are sketchy in the early years, they begin to fill out by 1720, when some adjourned sessions of monthly meeting had to be held. These usually met at the time of fifth day mid-week meeting following second day monthly meeting. Then in 1723 business had so multiplied that a preparative meeting was set up, held after fifth day meeting on the week preceeding monthly

meeting. As this gathering was not one of record, no minutes book was kept, although probably Nathaniel presided, and took informal account of decisions taken there.

Each month at monthly meeting a small collection was taken up. Women Friends generally doubled the men's contributions in the early years. These funds were used for current expenses, not for capital outlay such as was necessitated by the building of meetinghouses. As far as the men were concerned, Barnabas Starbuck looked after finances till his departure in 1722. Jethro then took on. But when the financing of the great meetinghouse of 1732 was in process Jethro handed over the accounts to the clerk. The women's meeting in its early years found a treasurer in the figure of Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, Nathaniel's wife, and successor to Dorcas as second clerk to the women's meeting.

From 1708 to 1711 the men's monthly meeting met in Nathaniel Starbuck's home. It was then moved to the original 30' × 35' meetinghouse which was built just north of the present Elihu Coleman house, seating perhaps 125 people. That was when meetings for worship were transferred from the Parliament House, Mary Starbuck's home. In 1716 a 20' addition, seating about 75 more was added to the original house. A partition was then made between the two parts. The women's monthly meeting then took over the larger, older, portion. The men's monthly meeting occupied the smaller, newer part. It was at the opening of this enlarged meetinghouse that a record group of fourteen visiting Quaker personalities arrived, Dr. Griffith Owen, the one time personal physician to William Penn, was among them, perhaps discussing with Mary Starbuck her failing health, and Mary (Holder) Slocumb, who had helped organize the initial visits and was on hand to note the fruits thereof. Nantucket monthly meeting had begun its course with 51 members. In 1711 there were 72, and in 1716, 87. By 1730 when decision was taken to build a new meetinghouse, the number stood at 193; then at 210 in 1732, and 222 when Nathaniel Starbuck relinquished his post as clerk in 1733. These figures incidentally include only "adult" members. Children under the age of 15 were even more numerous.

In 1709 the meeting started its oversight of marriage - that most characteristic and moving of Quaker activities. Some 62 couples stood up to ask to marry before 1733. Only one couple was refused - on the grounds of consanguinity of blood. Altogether 118 people stood up (as the two rejectees found other partners), and four others married twice under the care of the meeting. (Two others remarried a second time out-of-meeting). For fifteen the application was for a second marriage, for three a third. Sixteen applicants came from off-island. Fifty-one natives similarly joined meeting through marriage applications. Fifty-one were birthright Friends (or otherwise already members). Four couples were childless. Two couples emigrated (one with an infant child). A total of 389 other children were born to the other 55 couples - all the children listed as birthright members due to become full members in fifteen years time. Eighteen of the marriages lasted over the half century mark.

of the Edgartown meeting); Mary, wife of Richard Gardner Jr., and Rose, wife of Ephraim Tibbetts. This couple both ministers of Dover (N.H.) monthly meeting, left daughters who married onto the island.

Nathaniel undertook 25 quarterly meeting appointments up to 1743 and 20 Yearly Meeting appointments up to 1747. He became treasurer of monthly meeting in 1728 till 1732 and again from 1735 to 1741. In all Nathaniel gave 68 years of systematic service to the meeting. His minutes are as good as any kept in New England during his years of clerkship. In 1750 one visitor remarked in her Journal that Nathaniel and Dinah were "holding their integrity in the truth".

CHAPTER VIII - DORCAS STARBUCK (306-519)

In Which the first Women's Clerk encounters problems of Women's Rights, Education and Group Discipline

The Folgers were not the only Latinists on Nantucket. William Gayer Sr. was an educated man, possibly something like Stephen Hussey in as much as he had knocked around a good bit before settling down as Dorcas Starbuck's husband, on Nantucket. Dorcas had already been thought of as an old maid. But they made a happy couple, with the three children already noted in regard to the family inheritance.

The second hundred years war began in 1689. By 1695 a French privateer had raided the island. There was much talk of fortifying the place when William Gayer took over the chief magistrate's role in 1696. In 1702 when John Richardson landed, the little Capaum settlement was in a "tizzy" lest he prove also to be a French privateer. There had been peace from 1697 to 1701 but the war of the Spanish succession had caused hostilities to be renewed. It was against this warlike background that the Quaker convincements took place. What was worse in some puritanical eyes was that Nathaniel Starbuck, the prize Quaker pacifist, had become the chief magistrate in 1705. In 1710 in a flurry of fear, the puritan element persuaded William Gayer to set up cannon at his new house dominating the entrance to the great harbor. Gayer then died. George Gardner thereupon procured the weapons which were apparently rusting in Nathaniel's back yard in order to set them up. George was Nathaniel's brother-in-law having married Eunice Starbuck, his one non-Quaker sister. George's father, Captain John Gardner, not only led the half-shares men to revolt in the 1670s, but had consistently objected to Quaker visitors from 1681 to 1696, when he had turned over his governmental commission to William Gayer.

There is nothing like war to uncover anti-Quaker activity. Meanwhile, in 1704, Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, 1675-1748, and her husband, Jethro Starbuck, had come into the meeting. Her sister, Damaris, followed when the monthly meeting was set up in 1708. Old William's permissiveness had come home to roost in a way he hardly had expected. Dorcas and Jethro inherited Gayer's house on Centre Street, now taken down, - a house which then stood in relatively open country commanding a view down the great harbor. Sometime after the old man's death - he was at least aged 75 in 1710 - the house was sold and the Jethro Starbucks built a place on what is now Milk Street - also no longer standing.

When the application for monthly meeting was made, Dorcas put her name after that of her mother-in-law, followed by Anna Trott and Priscilla Coleman. Jethro put his name beside that of Barnabas, his bachelor brother, and after Nathaniel's and Stephen Hussey's names. John Coleman, Priscilla's husband finished off the list.

But since the application went to the men's yearly meeting, the women applicants were left in limbo. Quakers are supposed to have been the first human beings to accord women a place equal to men. This reputation rests on incomplete knowledge. In New England a general meeting of men Friends had gathered annually since 1660. But in 1683 it was generally agreed that this meeting was of yearly meeting status equal to London and Philadelphia. Women Friends who went to Newport joined in public worship - and then held private worship while the men made the practical decisions. This was not entirely true of Rhode Island quarterly meeting where in 1704, due to the work of Susannah Freeborn and others, a women's quarterly business meeting had been founded. And in 1707 a yearly meeting of ministers and elders came into existence: a meeting to which in theory at least women ministers were welcome. (In fact there is no evidence that they attended until about 1764 when a women's yearly meeting for business was created). It would seem clear that Nantucket was not only a generation ahead of the Society of Friends in condemning slavery, but it was possibly two generations ahead in asserting the equal rights of women.

In consequence on the 28 of 4th month (~~June~~ APRIL) on the opening day of the men's monthly meeting, the women met for worship only. But apparently it was strong worship, for a month later they wrote in their minute book that at general meeting "the power of the Lord" had moved them to set up their own monthly meeting. Rose (Austin) Tibbett was present, having come out with her mother, Sarah Austin, and so was Joanna (Slocumb) Mott from Rhode Island. No objection was made, and in June 1709 Mary Starbuck wrote to the women's quarterly meeting to indicate how things had gone. Dorcas was by that time occupying the clerk's chair. A minute book of soft calf's leather covering, somewhat larger than the men's book, had been purchased, and for a quarter century its minutes were Dorcas' responsibility. The minute book ran two months short of 79 years of record, finishing in April 1787.

Only ten of the 45 official Quaker visitors in the decade from 1698 to 1708 were women. Of the total official visitors from 1708 to 1718 only twelve were women (an even smaller proportion). In the face of the obvious inequalities of the age these twelve must have been especially welcomed. Note should be taken of some of these at least. Soon after monthly meeting started in 1708, Dorcas Easton, wife of ex-governor John Easton, appeared with Alice Anthony, a widowed sister-in-law of merchant William (who came again in 1712). News they brought was that the Quaker tax-collector of Dartmouth had been arrested for refusing to collect taxes for the Congregational Church there, and in consequence a delegation from Rhode Island quarterly meeting had been appointed to visit Governor Joseph Dudley in Boston. This controversy went on in 1712 to an impasse when the town meeting in Dartmouth, nominated a leading Quaker as minister of the state church there. Only in 1728 did King George II send a missive excusing Quakers from support of the State Church in Massachusetts and thus resolving the controversy.

In 1709 Ruth Smith of Dartmouth, kin of the imprisoned tax-collector, appeared to inform women Friends that the first New England Yearly Meeting Book of Discipline was practically ready for presentation. She was in company with William Baldwin who was en route from Britain to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and whose Journal account in 1709 was the first to come down to us after the monthly meeting was established.

The first wedding in the meeting involved Eunice Coffin, penniless ward of Stephen Coffin Jr., sister of the girl who was not allowed to marry her double first cousin (they were granddaughters of the chief justice of New Hampshire). Eunice wed Captain Ebeneezer Gardner, son of minister Nathaniel, grandson of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. The marriage lasted nine years only and then Eunice died. Ebeneezer remarried out of meeting, so that only one of their four children remained a Friend. In fact one son was a strong anti-Quaker tax-collector, distraining goods from consistent Friends who refused to pay war taxes during the troubles of the war of the Austrian succession. Stephen Coffin Jr. and Jethro Starbuck had joined Dorcas Starbuck and Priscilla Coleman in the initial marriage committee - to check on clearness and to oversee the wedding.

Dorcas and Priscilla served as the committee of enquiry for the women's meeting from 1709 to 1712, that is five times together. After that Experience (Look) Coffin, wife of Stephen Coffin Jr., generally replaced Dorcas, though the latter served again in 1717 and once again in 1725. Like Nathaniel, the women's clerk was becoming busy just with the running of the meeting. On the other hand in the early years Dinah Starbuck more often wrote reports to quarterly meeting. Dorcas more frequently did so after 1714.

In 1711 the women's meeting paid the debts of an elderly widow member, Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright, sister-in-law of Anna Trott. In 1713 it was time to help Mary (Daggett) Howes, an Edgartown woman who had married a Yarmouth Quaker and then moved to Nantucket for some years (as companion to a niece by marriage). Mary Howes, also a widow, had gone back to the Cape to live. In 1714 £7 was sent to Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham for "great loss by fire", (apparently in Boston, to which place the family had moved from Yarmouth.)She was a ministering Friend, granddaughter of both Mary Coffin and Sarah Gardner. In 1716 the recipient of aid was Sarah (Skiff) Long, not a widow, but obviously in financial straits. That few such cases were minuted before 1733 would seem to indicate that the general prosperity of the time seeped down even to the poorer elements in the town. The Peace of Utrecht had in 1713 brought a long period of peace. In fact only in 1739 was the second Hundred Years War definitively renewed. But in 1725 £12 were despatched to be used by quarterly meeting for the relief of those oppressed by the puritan establishment. It should be pointed out that in 1727 £15 was sent to Thomas Hathaway, whose house (including the town records of Dartmouth) went up in flames and in 1729 £4 were allocated to Joseph Hamblin, a Cape Cod resident on the island, who was destitute.

Susannah Freeborn and Ann Chapman, the two great advocates of women's rights appeared on Nantucket again in 1713, bringing with them Alice Wildman, an elder of Dartmouth monthly meeting. They joined in the general excitement which John Farmer's anti-slavery stand had created. Farmer's Journal, incidentally, indicates that he was warmly received on the island. Probably his stand brought forth the greatest sympathy from Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, who freed two slaves on the spot. It is not then so surprising that Priscilla's son, Elihu Coleman, published an anti-slavery pamphlet in 1732, having submitted it to quarterly and yearly meeting for approval in 1731. Elihu Coleman was a great-grandson of Peter Folger, whose work "A Looking Glass for the Times", had been republished by Dartmouth monthly meeting in 1724. Thus two Nantucket authors were to be noted in the colonial world in which the Nantucket Friends meeting was cared for by Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck.

Samuel Gaskell of Salem monthly meeting who appeared in 1714 was important to the women's meeting, as one of his daughters Provided Gaskell proceeded to marry on the island and bring her husband, Nathaniel Allen, into the meeting. This was in 1725. Similar situations developed for two of Rose (Austin) Tibbetts' daughters, as before indicated. Rose was on the island in 1716, 1719, 1722, 1723, 1727, 1728, 1730, 1731, 1733, 1740 and 1749 (the latter two dates lying well beyond the "clerical administration" of Dorcas Starbuck). In 1718 Paul Starbuck, Nathaniel's "crown prince", married Ann (Tibbetts) Starbuck. And in 1726 Mary Tibbetts, her sister, wed Matthew Barnard, nephew of Judith Wilcox's first husband, and became like her mother and grandmother (Sarah Austin) a recorded Quaker minister.

In 1713 Nathaniel Starbuck distributed Friends Primers to all the Quaker families with the idea that women Friends (short of the founding of a Quaker school) should train up their children in language which was appropriate to the Quaker affirmation of its way of life. In 1723 it was time to educate the adults. No less than 63 copies of Elizabeth Jacob's Farewell Exhortation were given out and in 1724 printed copies of quarterly meeting Advices were received. In 1727 the distribution of thirty copies of Barclay's Apology indicated that serious questions of doctrine were being considered. These were, it would appear, only paid for in 1729. A second set of Primers were ordered at that time. No wonder Nathan Prince complained that Nantucket Quakers were better equipped with Quaker literature than were most of their meetings.

Seventeen hundred and thirteen also witnessed the disownment of Tabatha Brown. Her sister, Mary Trott, was then granted a minute to emigrate in 1714. Followed in 1721 by a Mary Rogers (cousin of Matthew Barnard). Both these women were later reported as having married, probably on Long Island. Other transfers made before 1733, were in 1724 for Benjamin Estes (a relatively recent arrival from Pembroke monthly meeting (Mass.) who had married an Elizabeth Long in meeting two years before. He returned to his home base with wife and

child (to the meeting north of Plymouth which with Sandwich monthly meeting constituted Sandwich quarterly meeting). And there was a transfer for Dorcas Barnard, Judith Wilcox's stepdaughter when she married a Rhode Island Quaker.

Then as Ann Richardson appeared in 1715 from Newport, John Swain died, and his only Quaker grandson was brought to heel for offering "to abuse and debauch" the wife of a neighbour. The next year this same William Swain was up for gambling and in 1717 for drinking. He was, however, kept in membership, so that in 1727 he redeemed himself by marrying Jemima Coffin, Eunice (Coffin) Gardner's rejected sister - who by that time was not only penniless but an old maid. His faults of character were many however. Eventually both his sons were disowned - at least one of them taking part in some pretty wicked wharf in-fighting.

Tape Three, Side Two (1-271)

And William himself choked to death, probably by trying to eat meat too greedily. Water-front vendettas were not unknown even as early as in 1725, when George Newbegin, a recent Quaker immigrant got a judgement in court against Andrew Gardner, son of the late minister Nathaniel. It would seem that in practice the Quaker regulation about going to law with fellow members was not observed - Stephen Hussey notwithstanding. For instance in 1726 Daniel Folger, Quaker blacksmith, got conviction of Captain Ebeneezer Gardner and Thomas Macy (the town treasurer no less!) for fraud regarding whale-ship shares.

On the other hand Nantucket meeting became sticky over the marriage out-of-meeting of one Joseph Mott of Rhode Island monthly meeting (possibly a son of Jacob Mott Jr.) in 1721. This had occured on Nantucket - the bride being Rebecca Manning of a non-Quaker family. However excusable the circumstances might appear, Nathaniel Starbuck managed to get a written apology which was sent on to Newport and to Philadelphia, where Joseph and Rebecca had moved. Similar to this was the apology extracted from Daniel Folger, son of Judith Barnard (later Wilcox) who got a two months waiting period waived in order to go whaling when he was about to marry Abigail Folger, daughter of John (born in Edgartown). The real reason it soon turned out for haste, was Abigail's pregnant condition. And then in 1723 none other than Abigail Starbuck, daughter of the men's clerk, wed Thomas Howes (III) by civil ceremony. Again pre-marital relations explain the irregularity. Abigail, however, apologized and her husband was welcomed into the meeting.

More serious was the decision of the meeting to disown Theodate Hussey, youngest daughter of the late Stephen, for an insufficient apology in 1721 for involvement in an affair with an unnamed man. However, a month later Theodate gulped down "humble-pie" and she was kept on. In fact the apology was really fruitling, as she soon

married out, and died not long afterwards. Her children were lost to the meeting. Three years later in 1724 Batchelor Hussey her apparently solidly consistent Quaker elder brother apologized for an unspecified fault, and was also forgiven.

There then followed the case of minister Stephen Wilcox which appeared to have been settled satisfactorily. And in 1729 both Silvanus Allen and his wife, Jemima (Starbuck) Allen apologized for pre-marital sex relations. She was a daughter of Dorcas and Jethro. Both clerks' families gave proof of very human shortcomings. Then in 1730 Robert Gardner had to explain in marrying Jedidah Folger, granddaughter of Nathaniel Starbuck, that he was essentially guilty of breach of promise to another girl.

But the big case in 1730 concerned Nathaniel Paddack, who had married onto the island from Yarmouth, and Shubael Coffin, son of the late minister Stephen Coffin Jr. - both of whom to the "scandal and shame and ye great sorrow of ye meeting" had got consistently drunk. Nathaniel was prevailed upon to write a very great "Uriah Heep-y" sort of apology, and was forgiven. Shubael hoped simply that the meeting would forgive what was past. A year later (in 1731) Shubael was disowned. He was plainly an alcoholic, and he died childless in 1737, looked after to the end by his faithful black slave, Boston. Probably Shubael's marriage to Priscilla Starbuck, Nathaniel's daughter, had proved impossible. They had no children. Possibly they separated. And she died in 1738 her life equally ruined. In Shubael's will all his wife's property reverted to her.

Then in 1731 Timothy Barnard, grandson of minister Nathaniel Gardner, apologized for "som unadvised rash words", probably spoken to another girl, as he proceeded in marriage with Mary Bunker, a granddaughter of Stephen Coffin Jr. There were thus sixteen cases of dealing in the quarter century; with thirteen recoveries recorded and only three disownments.

In 1716 as the new meetinghouse was enlarged and also the new town house built, two new women visitors appeared (as had some old friends). Elizabeth Whartnaby (who came back in 1719) was an English woman settling in America. Lydia Norton was a Hampton, Mass., monthly meeting minister who was back again in 1722, 1725, 1734 and 1736. Returning minutes indicating approval of visitors had been initiated. And slavery was condemned.

In 1717 Hephzibah Hathaway came by as her mother was failing. And Patience Anthony of Newport kept her company. Perhaps the outstanding personality among the fourteen visitors at that time (come to pay respects to Mary Starbuck while she still lived) was John Smith, then clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, whose memory survives as the hero in Hannah Logans Courtship, she being his wife, and daughter of the Pennsylvania Governor, William Logan.

There were 72 official Quaker visitors in the decade from 1718 to 1728, and 43 in the half decade from 1728 to 1733. Respectively there were 23 and 21 women involved. Obviously the total number of visitors was increasing slightly, while the proportion of women now rapidly increased. Dorcas Starbuck could turn over her minute book in 1733 to Dinah Starbuck with a certain sense of satisfaction, in this regard anyway.

The death of her aunt, Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, of her uncle, Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., the sale of the Parliament House, and the coming of the hurricane which closed the old harbor, brought the townspeople over toward Milk Street and the Great Harbor. Then the pirates struck, murdering at least one white man, Nathan Skiffe, in a brutally deliberate way. They even captured Dorcas' husband, Jethro's, sloop, but he had wits enough to master the outlaws with mops and buckets of salt water and then set them adrift. Worse than this Dorcas' brother-in-law, Captain Nathaniel Coffin, was taken by a French privateer to prison in France. Once he was released and settled back on Nantucket he was swept to his death in the hurricane or in another storm which preceeded it. His widow, Damaris, who had found it difficult not to live in the fashionable way the Captain felt was appropriate to their wealth and station, now turned "plain". Most of her children had married by this time and had emigrated to Boston. Two were still at home, and Benjamin who showed an aptitude for his grandfather's Latin learning, opened the first Quaker school on the island in 1732, after mastering the intricacies of the financial arrangements of the whaling trade. The townspeople came to trust the "little draper". His office in his mother's house and later at the school, served as an incipient bank, in which whaling shares were bought and sold. Damaris turned over her fortune to him. That was all the venture capital he needed to underwrite both the bank and the Quaker School. He bought the old meetinghouse only to have it burn down in 1736.

Meanwhile Dorcas and Jethro's seven children grew up and married. Being in fact the first family of birthright Friends on the island to do so. Sarah the eldest, it is true, was born in 1697 before the first Quaker visitors arrived. She was eleven when the monthly meeting started and began to attend the women's business meeting in 1712 the year she stood up with Jabez Macy to cement with their marriage as it were the informal Starbuck-Macy partnership. Both became elders in the meeting.

William, the second child, was born the year after the first visitors came. He began to attend the men's meeting in 1714, and six years later, in 1720, married Anna Folger, daughter of Judith Barnard (later Wilcox). She was known as the "Queen" of the Quakers. Two years later William began speaking in the ministry to the delight of his uncle Nathaniel (as one of his uncle's letters reveals).

The third child, Eunice, married Daniel Pinkham in 1724 after attending the women's meeting for a decade. He was a cousin through the Coffin line, but unfortunately for them they were childless. The fourth child, Lydia, was an elder like her oldest sister. She came of age in 1719, when she became caretaker of the old Starbuck Indian emporium soon to be liquidated. She married a tailor from Newport, Benjamin Barney (later an elder), who came to live on the island in 1722.

The fifth child, Thomas, like Lydia was literally a birthright Friend. He came of age in 1721 and married Rachel Allen, great-granddaughter of Peter Folger, five years later. The sixth child, Jemima, was only born in 1712, and so came of age according to the early Nantucket rule of thumb in 1727. The next year she wed Rachel (Allen) Starbuck's brother, Silvanus Allen. Finally the seventh offspring, Mary, was born in 1715, ans so reached her majority in 1730 and wed the next year a promising youth from Newport who soon was recorded a minister. He was Richard Mitchell, ancestor of Maria the astronomer. Dorcas was 58 in 1733. She would live on another thirteen years. And Jethro, faithful to the widower tradition on the island, would continue alone for another quarter century into his centennial year.

Probably Dorcas got to quarterly meeting in Newport more times than the record shows. That two of her daughters should have married promising young men from that metropolis would seem to bear witness to this. In addition to serving a quarter century as clerk, Dorcas undertook 30 appointments for the meeting.

At the same time Dorcas' family were growing up and marrying, the same activity occupied the family of the men's clerk. This is perhaps the appropriate place to note what happened to the "other" Starbuck family. Five of these have already been discussed: Paul the "crown prince" who married twice; Hephzibah the minister, who wed Captain Silvanus Hussey, Stephen's son; then there was Elizabeth who had turned her lawyer husband, George Hussey, into an instrument to defend proprietary rights; next Abigail who eloped with Thomas Howes III out of meeting; and Priscilla who was noted, not by name, as the tragic wife of the disowned Shubael Coffin. There were still five others. Mary, the eldest, an elder, was a founding member in 1708 and married Jethro Folger, son of John and first cousin of Benjamin Franklin, in 1710. Benjamin, the seventh child, came of age in 1722, to wed Dinah Coffin, daughter of minister Stephen, in 1730, only to perish in a shipwreck in 1731, which also carried down his uncle, Thomas Hathaway of Dartmouth. Tristram the eighth child, who was an overseer, started attending men's meeting in 1724 and married Deborah Coffin in 1729, she a granddaughter of John Coffin of Edgartown. The ninth, Ruth, of age in 1731, wed John Russell of Macy descent that year. Finally Anna, an elder, came of age in 1733 and was united to Peter Barnard, Judith Wilcox's son, the year after her aunt Dorcas Starbuck ceased serving the women's meeting as clerk.

Both Nathaniel and Dorcas could be reasonably satisfied as to how their respective families had turned out. But perhaps there was too much attention being paid to being a member of the founding Quaker family on the island. One visiting woman Friend in the early 1760s, when old Jethro alone of his generation was living, preached a pretty controversial sermon to the effect that it was not sufficient to be thankful to be descended from a great family!

CHAPTER IX - BATCHELLOR HUSSEY (272-518)

In Which North Shore influences led to the founding of Nantucket Colony in Maine

Only one of John Swain's children and only one child of Sarah Gardner took on the Quaker vocation. These families had grown up for the most part before the Starbucks undertook to build a Quaker community on the island. In contrast Stephen Hussey's seven children who were the product of a late marriage, were more exposed to Quaker ideas both in Yarmouth and on the island. All of them joined Friends. Their mother, Martha (Bunker) Hussey put up with the Society. Her sister, Mary (Bunker) Coffin, wife of the Quaker landowner Stephen Coffin Sr. had three children members of the Congregational Parish, four in meeting, two emigrated, and one undecided as to his religion.

Martha Hussey's eldest daughter, Puella, had married Shubael Gorham, a member of Yarmouth meeting in 1695. There Puella lived till 1765. Martha's second daughter, Abigail, also married in Yarmouth, but though Thomas Howes' family were a part of the Quaker group, they were probably married out-of-meeting. This was in 1700. On their honeymoon trip to the island, Thomas was drowned. A posthumous son, later husband of Abigail Starbuck, was born in due course. Abigail Howes inherited a fair sized estate, built a gambrel-roofed house toward the upper end of the Great Harbor (in town) and invested successfully in whaling. She cut a scandalously fashionable figure which caught the eye of a Boston merchant, Joseph Marshall, who, upon losing his first wife in 1710, was drawn to Nantucket to develop a rope-walk for the growing whaling industry. In 1720 Joseph and Abigail were married, out-of-meeting, even though by 1720 he had joined meeting. Afterwards a son, Joseph Jr., was born to them. Abigail then allowed herself to come into the women's meeting. But she never adopted a plain bonnet. Apparently she wore jewelry and dressed in fashion till her death in 1763. In 1733 Joseph Sr. succeeded Nathaniel as clerk. And in the middle years of the century Joseph Jr. was a later successor as minute writer on the high seat in the men's meeting room.

Stephen and Martha Hussey's first son (third child) was Captain Silvanus. "Commodore" in fact, if not in name, of the whaling fleet. He first married a puritan girl, Abial Brown, in 1712, a granddaughter of Captain John Gardner, the anti-Quaker magistrate. This did not prevent him from building the first meetinghouse in 1711, nor enlarging it in 1716. They had five children before Abial died in 1722. Only the eldest of these followed in his mother's religious affiliation. In 1723 Silvanus joined meeting (same year as Abigail) by marrying Hephzibah Starbuck, minister, and daughter of the men's clerk. Eventually Silvanus inherited the men's clerkship (between the two Marshalls) and Hephzibah the equivalent post in the women's meeting. On the face of the evidence so far, the disownment of old Stephen Hussey did not hinder the usefulness of his having George Fox preach. Silvanus and Hephzibah had eight children, all, naturally, birthright Friends.

Stephen and Martha's second son, Batchellor Hussey, 1684-1760, was a founding member of Nantucket monthly meeting in 1708. In fact in 1704 he had married Aibgail Hall, daughter of John Hall an active Hampton monthly meeting, Mass., Quaker. Hampton meeting included members partially in Massachusetts, partly in New Hampshire. A cousin of Stephen Hussey, Mary (Hussey) Swett, and her husband, Moses Swett, were members there at least from 1685 when they were married. The Swetts lived on Nantucket for some years, no doubt attracted to the island by their cousin. Three of their daughters (at least one of them born on the island) returned to marry there during the years from 1712 to 1726. These daughters however held lightly to their Quakerism. Only one of them was married in meeting. Probably it was Moses Swett who introduced Batchellor Hussey to his wife. And Abigail (Hall) Hussey brought into the little 1704 meeting for worship a Quaker consciousness which was stronger than the influences encountered in Yarmouth or Cape Cod. Batchellor and Abigail raised eleven birthright children - mostly on the island.

Mary was the fourth child of Stephen and Martha (Bunker) Hussey. If Silvanus and Batchellor became elders, she became a minister. She married Jonathan Worth, grandson of Sarah Gardner, in 1707. When he died in 1719 they had four children. And four more were born to her and her second husband, Ebeneezer Barnard, brother of Judith Wilcox's first husband. They joined meeting after marrying outside, so that all her eight children were raised in the meeting.

The sixth child, George, the fellow sent down from Harvard College, wed Elizabeth Starbuck, sister of Silvanus' second wife, in meeting. They had ten children. By some unusual and unexpected turn of events, George proved to be the victim of his father's mishaps. And fate, like Greek nemesis, saw the son disowned as it happened for drunkenness in 1773 when he was aged 77. His father had been disowned at the age of 82.

And the seventh child was the same Theodate, who missed disownment by a miracle. She wed James Johnson in 1726 and died in 1744, the year her mother died. There was nothing dull about the Hussey family. Their fief at the head of the harbor meant they were on the ground floor when the town moved east in 1722. And thereby hung a puzzlingly indecisive chapter and verse having to do with property quarrels on the island. We will have a look at it now.

In 1717 following legal confirmation by the Massachusetts General Court in 1713 regarding the rights of common land proprietaries, Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and Eliezer Folger Jr. (like his father a school teacher) undertook to survey all land holdings on the island. The area surveyed above all was Monomoy, that is, Hussey-land. Batchellor Hussey, George Hussey and Thomas Macy were asked to certify the survey in the upper harbor area. Incidentally, the Macys had just built a second wharf on the harbor in 1717.

As the work got on, the Crown decided quite independently to allocate £50,000 to the Massachusetts Colony to make up for the effects of a tight money policy which had been pursued as the South Sea Bubble had burst in England. Jethro Starbuck, Stephen Coffin Jr., Miller Samuel Coffin, Batchellor Hussey and Thomas Macy - all Quakers - were asked by the town to put forward the Nantucket claim to the money in 1721. Almost immediately two distracting elements entered the picture. First the Governor of New York asserted that Nantucket and Marthas Vineyard still belonged to its jurisdiction. And the Chief Justice of Massachusetts, Samuel Sewall, charged that Nantucketers had defrauded their Indians. Joseph Marshall, Stephen Wilcox, Matthew Jenkins, George Brown and Thomas Macy were among the Friends currently procuring terms of unpaid service from the Algonquins for their faults in not respecting private property. In response, the Nantucket town government attempted unsuccessfully, it turned out, to subpoena, in 1723 a good many documents having to do with the island, but kept in the New York colonial archives. As late as 1727 the town was still answering Boston regarding its Indian policy as well.

Also in 1723 on behalf of the proprietary, Silvanus Hussey, George Hussey and Thomas Macy (successor to Barnabas Starbuck as treasurer of the meeting - soon to be named both town treasurer and county treasurer) set out to evict squatters from the newly surveyed houselots in the present Nantucket town. The squatters appealed to the Supreme Court of Judicature in Boston, from a good many of the 120 lots whose "butts and bounds" had been surveyed. In the light of Boston's critical attitude toward the town and its Quaker establishment, the town did not appear to defend its case in 1725, though a special direct access to the Supreme Court had been made available. Possibly the untimely death of Stephen Coffin Jr. also in 1725, caused the proprietary to waver. Possibly some awareness of Tristram Coffin's failure to record his deed of 1664 (which was the object of a law case in 1738) played its role. The squatters were not evicted. And the proprietary paid costs. Whatever this abortive judicial action signified, it showed that the Husseys, Macys and Starbucks were willing to close ranks and accept some financial loss as the present town took shape.

Batchellor was probably the key figure to insure that his family was not alienated over the disownment of his father in 1717. His marriage, and his career as a town official, allowed him to view Nantucket Quaker politics from a wide vantage point. It is perhaps significant that his uncle, John Hussey, once of Newcastle, Delaware, then of Woodbridge, New Jersey, visited Nantucket in 1723 again probably to help heal any breaches still visible.

Batchellor Hussey first served on a marriage committee in 1721, in an area of Nantucket life dominated by Jethro Starbuck, Stephen Coffin Jr. and John Coleman Jr. He was soon drawn into the work of the "visiting committee" first appointed in 1719 to check that new regulations in the Quaker discipline were carried out. He was next

drawn into the service of quarterly meeting, was recognized as an elder, and was even to be found at that holy of holies, yearly meeting. In 1724 Batchellor witnessed the purchase of a special book (vellum covered) in which copies of the first 54 marriage certificates were transcribed. Already in 1716 another special book had been provided to list births, admissions, marriages, deaths, transfers and disownments. One unusual case along this line occured in 1718 when an older widower Friend of Newport, Samuel Barker, kin of merchant William wed Bethiah Folger, daughter of John (born in Edgartown) and settled in Woods Hole to act as an outpost for Nantucket - hardly ten miles from Falmouth meeting, part of Sandwich monthly meeting.

The Rhode Island quarterly meeting which Batchellor attended was enlarged in 1718 by the creation of Providence monthly meeting (after 1731 called Smithfield) from the northern portion of Greenwich monthly meeting. Similarly the north portion of Rhode Island monthly meeting emerged as Swansea monthly meeting in 1732 after, it must be admitted, nine years of frustrated desire so to separate off. Membership based on financial apportionment for quarterly meeting in 1713 would seem to indicate 75 members on Nantucket, 170 in Dartmouth, 170 in Greenwich, and 470 on Rhode Island. Six hundred of the 885 members involved lived in Rhode Island.

Batchellor had noted that contributions to other meetinghouses had gone out as follows: to Dover, N.H., 1713; to Boston, Mass., 1714; to Salem, Mass., 1720; to Providence, R.I., 1725; to Medam, Mass., 1728; (and for repairs on the Nantucket meetinghouse also in 1728, £18). In 1730 a request from Meshanticut, R.I., was turned down as Nantucket was "about to build one for ourselves".

Just as Batchellor became active in meeting, an absurd controversy developed over a proscription of "periwigs" as contrary to simplicity. Nantucket was moved to ask of quarterly meeting whether a small wig covering baldness was evil. Tombstones were condemned in 1713. "Bowing and scraping" to magistrates and elaborate weddings were out in 1718, plays and romances disappeared in 1720, and a "hireling ministry" in 1722. The controversy over wigs, hats and haircuts all disappeared in the genuine emergency which the closing of Capaum Pond presented.

It was a time to reflect on those who had died - Stephen Hussey in 1718 aged 83, still engaged in "contests and janglings"; Mary Starbuck in 1717, aged 72, "a good instrument on the island of Nantucket where she lived" wrote Benjamin Holme; Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., in 1719, aged 83, whose acre in fee simple in the Wesko lots afforded a wonderful base for the development of the whaling monopoly; John Coffin in 1711, aged 67, lying under the oldest tombstone on Tower Hill in Edgartown; Deborah (Austin) Coffin, aged 66, his widow laid away in 1718 on Nantucket; John Swain, aged 82, in 1715, leaving some surprisingly nice furnishings in his little house in Polpis! Mary (Macy) Coleman, in 1715, aged 30, bride of Captain Soloman Coleman, the first Quaker Macy to die, and the first person to be buried in the old Quaker burial ground; Nathaniel Barnard Jr. in 1718, aged 46, Judith Wilcox's second husband, and Eunice (Coffin) Gardner, 1718, aged 25, the first woman to be married in meeting.

Notable visitors were also to be remembered. John Salkeld who came from Chester (Penna) in 1709, 1717 and 1730, must have impressed Batchellor Hussey particularly as he organized the orderly itineraries of dozens of public visiting Friends as they moved up and down the coast at any given time. Rose Tibbetts' brother, Nicholas Austin, appeared in 1719, 1720 and then, years later, in 1749, and 1769, when he had moved from Dover, N.H., to Abington, Penna. And in 1720 Rose's husband, Ephraim Tibbetts, turned up with his wife. He was back again in 1729 and in 1749 - and was no doubt influential in persuading Dover monthly meeting to condemn slavery in 1731 - the second New England meeting to do so. In 1723 Ephraim Tibbetts Jr. was received.

In a contemporary letter of 1722, Nathaniel Starbuck notes the feared fatal illness of Silvanus Hussey's first wife in commenting on Dr. John Fothergill's return, the first time since 1706. He had a good word to say about Lydia Norton and his cousin Rose Tibbetts' preaching; bits of gossip about the approaching marriage of Stephen Wilcox to his cousin Judith Barnard were noted. It seems Nathaniel had accompanied Fothergill to Taunton to see him on his way and stopped at his sister's, Hephzibah Hathaway's, on the Acushnet River, and stayed the night with the Barkers at Woods Hole. John Kinsey of New Jersey was also back at that time.

In 1725 Jane Fenn, later Hoskins, ladies maid, minister extraordinary, made her first visit, due to return in 1733, 1740 and 1755. With her was Elizabeth (Reed) Levis, also from Pennsylvania, and distinguished by being possibly the first Friend to mount a campaign against alcohol. Both were strong for sex equality.

Then in 1726 John Tucker, the great Dartmouth monthly meeting landowner, began the first of his four visits (1726, 1736, 1739, 1743). His property is still owned by his descendants, who are, remarkably enough, after two and a half centuries still active, concerned Quakers in that township. With him was Grace Lloyd, mistress of the house in which Jane Fenn was the servant, no doubt come to see the remarkable Quaker whaling community in order to inform her husband, Thomas Lloyd, then deputy for the Penn family, directly of her impressions.

Five years later, in 1731, Henry Frankland of Yorkshire who later travelled with John Richardson, left a brief Journal account of the island, as did Richardson himself in 1732 when he sat beside Nathaniel Starbuck in the 70' × 120' great meetinghouse, allowing for 460 men and 540 women; a building designed and erected by Silvanus Hussey.

SEVEN

Tape Four, Side One: Completion of Chapter IX dealing with Batchellor Hussey (1-25)

Batchellor's brother, Silvanus Hussey, was the builder of the Great Meeting-house. Batchellor himself served on the committee overseeing its construction.

In the quarter century from 1708 to 1733 a total of 418 appointments were made and recorded by the men's and women's meetings on Nantucket. These appointments were too much monopolized by the few very active Friends. Only twelve had to do with the negative side of enforcing the discipline. One hundred and sixty-eight had to do with the routine running of the Meeting and with its contacts with superior Quaker bodies. But 418 (!) such were undertaken to assure that the marriage mill ground out its products in fine condition. At least it can be said that the focus was upon preventive action, not on punishing those who fell - even as in the case of Batchellor Hussey.

If we look four years into the future from 1733 we meet Thomas Chalkley and Dr. John Fothergill returning again to Nantucket to witness the withdrawal of Batchellor and Abigail Hussey and seven of their twelve children to live on the Maine frontier (transferred to the care of Dover Monthly Meeting, N.H., which in 1751 set off this area as Falmouth Monthly Meeting). Never before had a well established family decided to leave the island and Meeting - except possibly once, and these got no minutes of transfer. In the case of Stephen Gorham who had come to Nantucket in 1704 to marry Elizabeth Gardner, granddaughter of both Mary Starbuck and Sarah Gardner, they decided to move to Yarmouth in 1720 taking with them six minor children. Four others were born to them. But then nine of the ten returned to Nantucket. This hardly constituted a full scale departure from the island.

Whether or not Batchellor and Abigail set off with others to found a colony, as it were, of Nantucketers, is not quite clear in 1737. Certainly no other Quaker members went with them. Nor is it clear whether they were fleeing a town too much tied upwith whaling or if they had in mind establishing a branch operation of the industry. What is clear is that they kept in touch with the island to the extent that some of their grandchildren returned to marry and live on Nantucket. And both Batchellor and Abigail continued for the greater part of a quarter century to be active Quaker members and elders.

Possibly their departure was a continuation of the symbiosis between Nantucket and the north shore - which in fact gave rise to the island settlement in 1661, contributed to the flight of New Hampshirites in 1675, helps explain the story of Moses Swett, and Sarah Austin and her daughters and granddaughters. In time, the Maine frontier became an initial Nantucket (and Vineyard) outpost - a stepping stone on the way to the Nova Scotia settlements of the 1760s and the 1780s. It provided in fact the shipbuilding of whaling sloops which was essential to the growth of that industry.

A quick retracing of the growth of whaling on Nantucket may throw light on the puzzling question regarding the motivation of the Batchellor Husseys in leaving Nantucket. First one point needs clearing up. In the current mythology of Nantucket, one Christopher Hussey is cited as the man who killed the first ocean going sperm whale. A close check of the Hussey family genealogy reveals no male of that name in 1713 orin 1714. Batchellor's grandfather was named Christopher. He died on the Cape an old man before the 17th century was out, probably even before the litigious Stephen got the the island. Batchellor and Abigail had a son Christopher, born in 1706. He would have been aged 7 or 8 when the sea-going

venture was launched. George and Elizabeth had a son Christopher born in 1718 but he died in infancy. Silvanus and Hephzibah had a son Christopher born in 1724. The odds are that Silvanus, the ships captain and meetinghouse builder, was the killer of the famous sperm whale. His son, Christopher, married into the Congregational Church and was disowned by Nantucket Monthly Meeting for this in 1771. It is well known that there was a sharp rivalry between Friends and Puritans. For instance, the "Old Vestry" has sported for many decades a marking indicating that it was built in 1711. There was no Puritan Church on Nantucket at that time. When services began to be held, they gathered in the town house built in 1716 (a building, incidentally, still standing in Polpis). Probably Timothy White got his "Old Vestry" dedicated by 1730. Its splendid appearance goaded the Society of Friends to build their own magnificent 1732 structure. But is it possible for the Congregational Church to claim the Quaker Meetinghouse date as it does and is it not also possible that they claimed a Congregational Christopher Hussey similarly to be the originator of his Quaker father's activity as regards the sperm whale?

By 1715 the Nantucket whaling fleet consisted of six not two vessels as in 1711. That year 660 barrels of sperm oil and 11,000 lbs of bone were sold: netting a profit of £1,100. Silvanus Hussey bought the Bristol, 14 tons, designed by the Wanton brothers at Tiverton, R.I. Abigail (Hussey) Howes had bought a 12 ton sloop the Thomas built in Newport in 1713. It seems the third boat of 25 ton burden was owned mostly by the Starbucks. It was called the Speedwell and was built in Charlestown, Mass. The other two sloops were Puritan owned. Was it one of these, or another more recent purchase, which went down in the hurricane of 1722 carrying six "English" and six Algonquins to their deaths. Four of the "English" Nathaniel Starbuck observed were married. Three were brothers, members of the Bunker family - one of these, Benjamin, had wed a Yarmouth Quaker girl in 1709 and settled on the island and into the Meeting. A second of the trio who were drowned had moved into the Puritan orbit by marrying one of them. It is just possible that it was the sloop of which Nathaniel Coffin was captain which went down. For he was lost about that time. Two others who were drowned were Nathan Coffin and his brother, Joshua Coffin, who were both Puritans. This list of six casualties were all married men.

In 1725, 86 whales were captured, 11 alone in one day. Already five years before, Paul Starbuck had sold oil on the Carolina capes and in London - where Sewels History of the Quakers was purchased and articles of furniture as well. Some of which may be identified on the island today.

In 1729 when Benjamin Barnard, son-in-law of the late minister Nathaniel Gardner, died (aged 38) he left among other items a 43 percent ownership of the sloop Ranger valued at £175, plus a shore whaleboat, rigging and hut valued at £12.12s. In this case the Ranger must have been valued at £400, at least 35 times what a whale boat was worth. In 1730 no less than 25 whaling sloops one of which was the Ranger, put out - and with whale oil commanding £7 a ton, the take was £3,200. The capital invested was certainly well over £100,000 - some estimates put it as high as £190,000. Costs of new whaling sloops rose in the 1730s from £7,660 to £11,460 per vessel, but inflation may explain part of the costs. By 1737 other ports in New England and on Long Island were trying to get into the lucrative trade - which was by then extending its operations to Newfoundland. Nantucket whalers were sailing out of Newport as early as 1733.

The town record shows that Batchellor Hussey sued Benjamin Trott for sending a servant on his whaling sloop "to his hurt" in 1736 and lost the case. Was this in part his reason for seeking greener pastures elsewhere? In any case, Batchellor

Hussey and family left in June 1737 for Biddiford, York County, Maine. Four of his children remained on the island. These were Mary (Hussey) Swain, who had married Peleg Swain, a non-Quaker, out-of-meeting in 1730, and already was mother to three youngsters; Jedidah (Hussey) Coffin, wife of Benjamin Coffin, the banker-schoolteacher, whom she wed in meeting in 1726; John Hussey, who married Jedidah Coffin, daughter of overseer Bethiah (Macy)Coffin, in 1734; and Huldah (Hussey) Bunker, whose husband, Simeon Bunker, was nephew of Benjamin. They were married in 1734. These last two also married in meeting. Jedidah Coffin had six children and John Hussey had one by the time their parents emigrated. Christopher Hussey, Batchellor and Abigail's eldest son, then aged 31, had apparently left Nantucket for Biddiford in 1730, where he married Ann Garretson probably under the care of Dover Monthly Meeting. They no doubt arranged for his parents to occupy a role of some economic consequence "down east". One final curious point remains unexplained. No record of Christopher's membership or departure was ever mentioned in the 1716 book devoted to Nantucket Monthly Meeting members.

CHAPTER X - JOHN MACY JR. (252-end)

In Which the Meeting confronted race relations, money matters and spiritual integrity

It was not the Hussey family which led the general exit from Nantucket once the emigration fever got really going - it was the Macy family. The Macys were hesitant to join in the Quaker movement set in motion by Mary (Coffin) Starbuck and her family. They remembered all too well that they stood with the half-shares men, with Peter Folger and Captain John Gardner against the Coffin pretensions in the 1670s. They were, also, deeply suspicious of the Mayhew pretensions (even though their grandfather, Thomas Macy, was a cousin of old Governor Thomas Mayhew). For one thing, Thomas' only son to marry, John Macy, died in 1691. Two years later his widow, Deborah (Gardner) Macy, (daughter of Quakeress Sarah) married Stephen Pease, grandson of John Pease, who had gone to the Vineyard in 1630, a dozen years before Mayhew got a charter to the island. The Pease family very naturally lined up with the Nantucket half-shares men to fight the Mayhews. Even though the Mayhews were basically anti-Quaker so was Captain John Gardner. And Mary Starbuck was Tristram Coffin's daughter.

Only about 1711 did the Macy reticence begin to dissolve, that is a dozen years after the official Quaker visitors first appeared. In that year Mary Macy, John's daughter, wed Soloman Coleman in Meeting - in fact the first wedding to take place in the oldest Meetinghouse. In 1712 her next older brother, Jabez Macy, wed Sarah Starbuck, daughter of Jethro and Dorcas. But also married out-of-meeting that year was Richard Macy choosing Deborah Pinkham, granddaughter of Magistrate James Coffin. However, before that year was out they were coming to Meeting. His oldest brother, John Macy, 1675-1751, joined him with his wife, Judith (Worth) Macy (also a granddaughter of Sarah Gardner), whom he married in 1707. And Thomas, a younger brother, (who had also married in 1707) came along with his wife, Deborah (Coffin) Macy (a daughter of Major John Coffin of Edgartown). Three sisters: Sarah (Macy) Barnard, Deborah (Macy) Russell and Bethiah (Macy) Coffin (after 1724 Renouff) all joined Meeting in 1715. These constituted the Macy grandchildren of the original Thomas, and they all became Friends. They also had three sets of cousins, i.e. Macy descendants by sisters of their father. The first of these, Sarah, had married William Worth (the first of his name on the island). They appeared to have had one son only, John Worth, who married a daughter of Sarah Gardner and proved in time to be father to the wife of John Macy Jr. Incidentally, old William Worth joined Meeting about 1720 so as to die in the Quaker faith two years later. His other distinctive quality was to introduce sheep raising on the island in 1663. The second Macy aunt was Mary, who wed William Bunker, John Swain's step-son, and became in time mother to the Benjamin Barnard whose estate was probated after 1731. The third, Bethiah, wed Joseph Gardner, a son of Quakeress Sarah. One of their daughters, Sarah, wed Joseph Paddack, son of Zacchary, in Yarmouth in 1696. Two others later married on Nantucket (under the care of Friends). This then was the extended Macy family which cast its lot with whaling and Quakerism for the most part after 1711.

Richard was the great wharf builder. In 1723 he erected the main wharf of the town. Thomas was the financial figure, already noticed as the universal treasurer. Jabez forged the link which drew them into partnership with the Starbucks. And John became in due season (1747) successor of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. as clerk of the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders. Thomas served as treasurer of the men's Meeting from 1722 to 1728, taking the place of Barnabas Starbuck. Incidentally, Barnabas had been book agent for the Meeting till his departure in 1722. Nathaniel Starbuck then took on that job until 1746, when Barnabas Gardner (his nephew) took it on. It might well be observed here that Dorcas Starbuck served as the women's treasurer and caretaker of the Meetinghouse until 1741 when Mehitable (Gardner) Pollard, daughter of Aunt Bethiah(Macy) Gardner took over care of the money, and Mary (Gardner) Gardner, daughter of Mary (Austin) Gardner, took on care of the Meetinghouse.

John Macy Jr. ornamented the town eighteen years as selectman. And he was sent to Quarterly Meeting as representative of Nantucket nineteen times beginning in 1718 and finishing in 1744. In that year he became Monthly Meeting treasurer for an ad interim period of three years, yielding that place to Benjamin Barney, the tailor from Newport. John Macy was apparently a man of principle. He refused more Quarterly Meeting assignments in 1744 probably as he was unable to persuade men Friends in Newport to give women Friends genuine equality. And he resigned the treasury post in all probability as he regarded the proposed cost of putting youth galleries into the great Nantucket Meetinghouse as exorbitant. John Macy had at least twice served faithfully on committees which undertook to visit every member of the Meeting. He was, it would appear, in full sympathy with John Woolman who came to visit in 1747, and at Woolman's request undertook with Jethro Folger to coordinate the work of elders and overseers. In all John Macy undertook 39 Quaker appointments until his death in 1751, when he was aged 76.

In 1738 John Macy had helped Minister Richard Mitchell prepare a report on Amerind-English relationships, for Quarterly Meeting. It will be recalled that Stephen Coffin Jr. had been active in enforcing the white man's law on the Indians. As early as 1707 Stephenhad been asked to round up stray Indian cattle. And Jethro Starbuck saw to it that the Indians planted regularly. Complaints of the severity of these two had led to a movement to abolish the Nantucket County (created in 1695) and to attach the town directly to Suffolk County (Boston). Ironically it was the Puritan minority which controlled the Nantucket County's government which objected effectively. In 1722 the town voted in that same year a curfew (Stephen Coffin Jr. had initiated formal voting procedures in town meetings in 1720 to please the Puritan minority). This curfew was put on stray Negroes and Amerinds; evidence of growing urbanization. The next year Thomas Macy got an Indian "bound over" to him for the theft of 36 sticks of whale bone - for a period of seven years! Joseph Marshall had gone to court similarly three times in 1721-1722. Stephen Wilcox, Matthew Jenkins and George Brown (Anna Trott's son-in-law) so acted also in 1723. It is in the light of such convictions that we learn that Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. wrote in his last will and testament of "all his Indian men".

In 1736 a murder trial involving two drunken Indians was held on Nantucket after George Hussey petitioned that to hold such a court in Barnstable on Cape Cod as the law required, would be too costly for its worth. A year later Joseph Marshall was before the court on the charge ofmaking andselling illegal liquor to the Indians. The charge was not proved. Two decades later Joseph Marshall (then ex-clerk) got a licence to sell alcohol.

Then in 1738 the "Court of Sessions of the Peace" ordered two Indians lashed twenty stripes each for stealing from a warehouse owned by Thomas Clark, brother-in-law of Dinah Starbuck and Thomas Jenkins, grandson of Sarah (Macy) Gardner. The result was an unexpected uprising of the Indian community then 150 strong. But the Puritan element which was willing to use arms was as large, and better equipped. The ring leader, "Happy" Comfort, was executed in 1739. This was the occasion when John Macy Jr. (and his cousin Richard Worth) were asked to prepare a report for Quarterly Meeting regarding the situation of friction which had risen between the two communities on the island.

In 1740 Richard Macy, Zaccheus Macy (his eldest son) and Jabez Bunker (Benjamin's brother) got an Indian thrown into jail for stealing a cow. Joseph Rotch, father of William, got one Indian given ten stripes for stealing a curtain, as well as three years indentured service. Once again the Indian tribe appealed to Boston for redress. Notwithstanding, another Indian was tried and executed at Barnstable in 1744 (Boston declared war conditions made it unsafe for the court to be convened

on the island!) This man was Jeremy Jude. A year later similarly John Comfort followed him to the gallows - this time war or no war on the island. Ten stripes and eight months labor was dealt out at that time to another Indian who stole goods off a sloop belonging to Obed Hussey, non-Quaker son of Silvanus, at Tuckernuck Island, west of Nantucket.

In 1747 two girls were whipped at the complaint of Thomas Bunker, nephew of Jabez. But in 1748 the court surprisingly enough enforced Peter Jenkins (Thomas' brother) to pay an Indian girl whom he had exploited in her apprenticeship in his household. In 1747 the province began the practise of appointing overseers to safeguard Indian lands and rights. Governor Jonathan Belcher had little sympathy or trust in Quakerism and its sense of justice. It would seem that the Macy sensitivity was lacking also at this point. Of course, after 1763 when yellow fever decimated the Nantucket Indians - the solution of extinction presented itself. Half of the whaling crews were Amerind until middle century. What share of the profits did they get?

The Macys as carpenters were called on on occasion to look after Meetinghouse property. In 1725 however it was probably Paul Starbuck, trained a a glazier, who repaired the windows in the Meetinghouse. In 1728 it was Elihu Coleman who was given the contract. He was also a carpenter. In fact his 1722 house, possibly the last built at the old settlement, and the last still standing there, gives eloquent testimony to his skill. Did the original Meetinghouse sport diamond shaped leaded glass? The 1686 house did. The 1722 Coleman house did not. Seventeen eleven lay nearer the latter date.

In 1729 Jethro Starbuck and Richard Macy were asked to fence in the original burial ground. At that time there was a surplus of £25.5s.10d. in the men's treasury despite despatching £10 to Joseph Smith of Providence to help build the Mendham Meetinghouse, £6 to Richard Partridge in London to help defeat an anti-Quaker law, £6 to meet Quarterly Meeting expenses, and £18 to Elihu Coleman for his carpentry. Soon afterwards the Board of Trade freed Friends from "Priests rates" - even so Salem Quarterly Meeting reported in 1731 £118.11s. had been so distrained.

Later in the summer Nathaniel Starbuck sent £7.10s.6d. to cover costs of primers, Apology's and travel of visiting Friends. From this position of affluence there came in sharp contrast a real shortage of money. The great Meetinghouse took shape in 1732 at that moment.

In this emergency Jethro Starbuck stepped to the fore to replace his brother the clerk. Funds earmarked for Quarterly Meeting were handed over to Silvanus Hussey. Paul Starbuck was asked to work with his uncle to get women Friends under the burden of the crisis. Early in 1733 the women gave £34 to which the men put £11.14s.8d, which all went to Captain Silvanus. Apparently the Meeting was trying to pay the builder £50 monthly. This was done for a period perhaps of five years. If so, the new Meetinghouse cost about £60,000. It was it should be noted the largest public building standing between Newport and Boston.

In 1734 twenty-two shillings were despatched to care for the expenses of visiting Friends. Soon afterwards, Nathaniel Coleman, Elihu's brother, procured a minute to travel to Philadelphia (apparently the third such minute issued by Nantucket Monthly Meeting - curiously little in the face of the many visitors welcomed on the island). At the end of the year Jethro turned back the treasurer's job to Nathaniel (now ex-clerk). Nathaniel then apparently bought an account book (which has not been identified to date). And Nantucket's share in Quarterly Meeting finances was then listed as only thirty shillings, when their budget stood at £30. But very possibly

Nantucket was excused from its normal share as the cost of the great Meetinghouse was still being met. Early in 1736 Nantucket refused to contribute the £12. 10s. proposed as their proportion of the Freetown Meetinghouse costs because as they wrote "we have lately built a large Meetinghouse and have not finished it", i.e. finished paying for it.

A request for support for a reprint of a book by Moses West was similarly put aside directly afterwards. Not till a year later was the sum of 25 shillings despatched to pay for some 30 copies Nathaniel brought back with him from Yearly Meeting in 1738. Also in 1738 Paul Starbuck was paid £1.1s. for repairing glass in the Meetinghouse. And two copies of a book by John Hammett were purchased. These were sufficiently appreciated that a hundred more copies were ordered in 1739. Also in 1739 Richard Macy was asked to put a porch about the main doors of the Meetinghouse on the south side and to pave the ground with cobble stones, so that wagons could be driven directly up to the porch. This was the major improvement undertaken between building the youth galleries and enlarging the Meetinghouse. As far as literature was concerned in 1740 £5.13s.6d. was forwarded for a third consignment of Barclay's Apology. Surely this figure was quoted in the inflated currency of the day. Still later that year Benjamin Coffin was paid ten shillings for procuring a copy of the Pennsylvania law on affirmations.

Still later in 1740 twenty shillings were allocated to Susanna (Cartwright) Stratton, a member for a decade or so, but recently widowed. At the same time Joseph Marshall was asked to talk with Caleb, her only son, and Lois, her daughter-in-law, to get them to act more generously and responsibly toward her. Then as Nathaniel resigned his second period of treasurership to banker Benjamin Coffin in 1741, son Paul was again paid for window repair - 34 shillings, 3 pence. Benjamin held this post until 1744, that is for three years before turning it over to John Macy Jr.

Coffin's new broom was reflected in the decision to transfer the monthly collection in the men's meeting to the Sunday Meeting just preceding monthly meeting where no doubt the numbers were greater. And £22 was despatched to meet an S.O.S. on the part of London Yearly Meeting. Women Friends now decided that their system of collection, started in 1708 and continued till 1741 by Dorcas Starbuck, was not equal to the times. Mehitable (Gardner) Pollard (granddaughter of the late Mary Starbuck and the late Sarah Gardner) started her incumbency as women's treasurer with 44 shillings in hand. The men's first Sunday collection netted £5.11s.2d. while some forgot and brought £1.19s to Monthly Meeting the next day.

A bit later the Meeting granted Mary (Stanner) Newbegin £3. George Newbegin (who had been in court charging a fellow member with fighting) had been lost at sea in 1740 - possible on the same sloop with William Cartwright. In any case Mary soon (1742) withdrew from Nantucket taking her four youngest children with her. One son, apprenticed on the island, stayed behind to marry and become, in time, father to the three eccentric Newbegin sisters, whose memory lives on.

Tape Four, Side Two: Continuing Chapter X - John Macy Jr.

In 1743 the Meeting agreed to buy 100 copies of William Penn's Primer. Susannah Stratton was given £3 (£5 in 1744, £4.7s.6d. in 1745). Mary (Gardner) Gardner, who had been named caretaker of the Meetinghouse in 1741 in the place of Dorcas Starbuck, was given 40 shillings for sweeping the sand under the benches twice a week. Mary Gardner was a granddaughter of John Swain, and like him, a minister, as was her husband Captain David Gardner, whowas a great grandson of both Sarah Austin and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. About David Gardner was to be wound a strange and not too helpful development as years passed. He was not unlike Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., lively, gifted, but he was also ambitious - probably to occupy the central position the original men's clerk had held.

In 1743 £5 was despatched to help build the Westerly Meetinghouse. This was being constructed as a central location for the southern part of Greenwich Monthly Meeting, which was being set off as South Kingston Monthly Meeting in that year. Also Paul Starbuck was paid £6.1s.4d. for Meetinghouse repair on the island. As well a hundred George Fox Primers were bought.

As John Macy Jr. took office he was handed £29.13s.3d. most of which (£23) was promptly sent off to help some Taunton Friends build their Meetinghouse, and some to help finish off the costs of the Westerly house. In 1745 Meetinghouse maintenance at home came to £7.7s.9d. At that time Lydia Norton, the minister from Amesbury, was making one of her numerous visits and she asked for the advance of £10 to cover some unexpected travel expense. Captain Silvanus Hussey promptly supplied the cash and was reimbursed two months later by John Macy Jr. At that time John Macy was given £5.12s.9d. by Barnabas Coleman (who had taken over the care of the book business from Nathaniel Starbuck the year before). Nathaniel had been book agent from 1722 to 1744, that is after his brother, Barnabas, had migrated. Barnabas Coleman, the bew book agent, was an elder, brother of Nathaniel and Elihu, and, in later years, the outstanding clerk of ministers and elders.

In 1747 came the request to help to pay for the new Swansea Meetinghouse - reported to have cost £759.19s. It was apparently in opposition to paying for this expensive building that John Macy Jr. handed in his resignation as treasurer. But more probably John was disturbed that Paul Starbuck's bill for constructing the youth galleries in the Nantucket Meetinghouse came to £719.7s.10d. Of course, the capacity of the building was raised thereby from 1,000 to 1,500 attenders. Incidentally, membership had risen from 222 in 1733 to 310 in 1738; to 409 in 1743; and to 531 when the galleries were built. When we recall that the children under 15 years of age constituted at any given point in the time under consideration, more than the adult membership, it is clear why the galleries were needed. Looking ahead such growth would necessarily lead to still another enlargement. This occurred in 1764 when membership stood at 962. The great house then accommodated 2,000 attenders.

Rather naturally aid for a new Meetinghouse at South Kingston itself was postponed in 1748. And by 1749 Benjamin Barney, the new treasurer, found it possible to send £5 for a Meetinghouse in downtown Providence, and £10 to Benjamin Bagnall, key Boston Friend, for help in replacing the house of Philip Rowell of Amesbury Monthly Meeting, which fire had destroyed. That year the Nantucket quota to Quarterly Meeting stood at a normal £8. This sum was given to Captain Silvanus Hussey who had succeeded Merchant Joseph Marshall as Monthly Meeting clerkin 1747.

In 1750 Benjamin Barney was asked to oversee the building of a "Privy House" four feet square. It is hard to imagine that such a facility had not been provided beforehand. Possibly this was one in addition to others. This little house cost £17.11s.

Perhaps one additional reason for John Macy's resignation from the treasurer's post was that Nathaniel Starbuck decided to retire from the clerkship of the "morning meeting" as it was called, from the clerkship of the select meeting of ministers and elders, which he had served for twenty years. John Macy took this on in 1748 but his health was indifferent and in 1751 the second select clerk was laid to rest, aged 76. Elihu Coleman was asked to take his place.

John left a moderate estate. But it included a farm in Dartmouth worth £109 (that on Nantucket was valued at £2,266). One sixth of the whaling sloop Friendship was estimated at £122; 390 sheep commons, in contrast, were considered to be worth £833. John Macy's descendants numbered only 28 - small by Nantucket's 18th century standards.

John and Judith (who lived on till 1767) had ten children, one of whom predeceased their father. She was Miriam (Macy) Coffin, wife of Zephaniah (son of minister Stephen) whom she wed in 1725. She died in 1736. The second, John ("old chaunt") as the wharf wits called him, was probably a bit odd. In any case he never married. The third, David, married a sister of Captain David Gardner in 1739 and emigrated to North Carolina in 1771. The fourth, Anna, married minister Joseph Jenkins (of Gardner descent) in 1735. The fifth, John (III) wed Eunice Coleman, a daughter of minister Elihu, in 1743 and in fact organised the emigration to North Carolina in 1771. Judith, the sixth, an old maid, would marry elder William Clasby (also of Gardner descent) in 1753. The seventh, Jonathan, had married Lois Gorham of Yarmouth Meeting in 1744 and was in process of moving back to Nantucket as his father died. Jonathan above all embodied his father's sense of uprightness. In years to come he would be known as the key Nantucket Friend. William, the eighth, wed a daughter of treasurer Benjamin Barney in 1746. Sarah, the ninth, had emigrated, probably to John's farm in Dartmouth in 1746, when she married Richard Gardner, brother of Captain David Gardner. The tenth, Abigail, aged 20 in 1751 died twelve years later still unmarried. She and Seth were provided with life-time care along with their mother in John's house, which afterwards went to his son William Macy.

MEMBERSHIP IN 1718 OF THE MONTHLY MEETING

The tenth anniversary of the establishment of Nantucket Monthly Meeting was also the twentieth anniversary of the arrival of the first "publick" Friends. It is a good moment to notice the adult membership in full and to trace trends in the lives of the more active Friends. Samuel Coffin, now aged 38, had been joined by his twin brother, Tristram Coffin, who had married a sister of Jabez Bunker four years before, probably in Edgartown, where they made their home. Tristram was credited with introducing whaling into the shire town on Marthas Vineyard. He apparently joined Meeting in 1718, the year their mother died. As for Samuel, he had served Sherburne Town at least once as constable in 1711. Their uncle, Stephen Coffin Sr, aged 71 had very much retired from business and official life. But his son, Minister Stephen Coffin Jr., aged 43 was the presiding officer in Town Meeting (for which Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. was Clerk). As early as 1702 when aged 28, he had been put in charge of fencing the common land. In 1705, Stephen became constable, and in 1707 "inherited" his father's "place" as Selectman. That year he was asked to collect all stray Indian cattle. This was possible because a list of brands were kept by the Proprietary. In 1708, Stephen was put in charge of swine, along with the Men's Clerk. From 1711 onwards, Stephen was the chief assessor of taxes. Then in 1716 he was authorized to set up a "pound" for hogs at his house at Monomoy for the for the last half of the Island. Stephen also kept a public house. In this he was almost unique. Two of Stephen's sons were accounted Members: Shubael Coffin, aged 24, his close business associate, and Zephaniah Coffin, aged 19, keeping company with a daughter of John Macy, by whom he was employed. There were six Coffins in the Men's Meeting, double the 1708 figure.

The center of Meeting life was, however, in the Starbuck rather than the Coffin family. Nathaniel Starbuck Sr., aged 82, was in failing health, suffering from the series of strokes which would carry him off. His son, Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., aged 50 was, on the other hand, at the height of his powers. A wiry little man, he breathed energy. Inheriting concern for the Indians, he financed the upkeep of two Indian chapels which were constructed twenty years before. In 1707 with the late John Swain, he had overseen Indian planting, lest natural laziness prevail among the indiginous population, which preferred the excitement of chasing after whales to raising food ("women's work"). In fact, from 1707 on, the Indians "kept the beach." That is manned the look-outs for whales; under the supervision of the town. Nathaniel was usually charged with "laying out" lands from the proprietary to be sold at fee simple, to whites or Indians - whom it must be recalled made up half the population in 1700 - probably about 40% in 1718. As Clerk of Town and Proprietary, Minister and Meeting Clerk, active in Yearly Meeting affairs in Newport, manager of the whaling industry and Indian affairs, Nathaniel Starbuck was the most prominent Nantucketer. His son Paul Starbuck, aged 22, was trained as a window setter - the traditional Starbuck skill, and was accounted a Member.

Then there was Jethro Starbuck, aged 47, one of the Quarterly Meeting Friends, Elder, captain of a whaling vessell, perhaps the architype of Melville's mate, "Starbuck." He was one of nine Quaker jurymen as late as 1713, when as a result of Hussey's contentions, most Quakers gave up that service. In 1701 he had been constable, in 1702 in charge of checking herds on the moors. In 1704 he became a Selectman. working closely with his cousin, Stephen Coffin Jr. Often he helped Nathaniel with Indian planting supervision, and helped keep close check on Indian lands. In fact so tight was his grip that complaints got to Boston, and investigations were held. Some of the Puritan establishment wanted to use this complaint as an excuse to attach Nantucket to Suffolk (Boston) County, to better master the nest of heretics. But the Nantucket Puritan minority which ran Nantucket County Courthouse were much opposed to this. Jethro's son William Starbuck, aged 19, was a promising Quaker, beginning to speak in Meetings for Worship. A whaler. Then there was Barnabas Starbuck, aged 45, unmarried, the Treasurer of the Meeting, living with his aged father and handling their shop. His Quarterly Meeting connections in Newport would lead him soon to settle there as administrator of the Starbuck warehouse in that town. Thus there were six Starbucks rather than four - not as great an increase as the Coffins showed.

Sitting head of the Meeting for worship - "to time it" - was John Coleman Jr. also a Quarterly Meeting Friend, Elder and active in town affairs. He was now 51 years of age. A juryman, collector of stray cattle, he helped lay out the South Shore lots in 1711, and supervised Indian planting on occasion. Two of his sons were among the active younger Friends: Nathaniel Coleman, aged 21, a whaler: and Elihu Coleman, aged 19, associated with his father in sheep raising. Both were destined to become Ministers, taking after their gifted, sensitive mother. Their uncle, Soloman Coleman, aged 33, associate of Captain Gardner in the coastal trade, was mourning the loss of his Macy wife, three years before, and about to marry a Quakeress from the North Shore. There were four Colemans as compared to one before.

John Folger, farmer, aged 59, was retiring from active life. Three of his sons had joined him in Meeting. Jethro Folger, aged 29, the eldest, was an Overseer as was his father - i.e. active in practical responsibilities for the Meeting - a whaler, Jonathan Folger, aged 22, following the traditional Folger métier of blacksmith. The third son, Shubael Folger, aged 18, was paying attention to a girl named Clark, of proud Mayflower ancestry. He was an apprentice in whale boat equipping. A fourth son was about to marry a girl from Chilmark and Vineyard Haven on Marthas Vineyard - but of the Chase family who had originally lived on Nantucket, but were as yet little touched by Quakerism. The Folgers had doubled.

Only one Swain appears as was the number before. He was William Swain, aged 23, unstable cousin of the three Folger brothers, probably employed at one of the local rope walks - that is rope making - sail making establishments on the waterfront, where it was possible to be a crony to an Indian, or a freed Negro, and later to a South Sea Islander; types immortalized by Moby Dick.

Shubael Gorham, aged 44, whale boat outfitter, played little part in Meeting or town affairs. Probably he suffered from being both a third generation Friend (from Cape Cod) and from being essentially an outsider! Similarly Stephan Gorham, aged 33, who was his associate. No others of their name appear.

Bachelor Hussey, now 38, was handing over his father's farming interests to George Hussey, aged 22, while the elder brother opened a cordwaining establishment (similar to a rope-walk). In 1711 he had served the town as constable, and in 1718 became a Selectman. His service as a juror dated back at least to 1707. The number of Husseys like the Gorhams remained constant. Bachelor it might be added was an overseer in the Meeting. The disownment of his father seems to have had no effect on this solid citizen.

Captain Ebenezer Gardner, aged 30, as he was now known, had just lost his Coffin wife, and would remarry before long into a non-Quaker branch of that family, thus in effect, was about to fall away from active participation in the Meeting. In a later stricter age, he would have been disowned for "marrying out". Two of his brothers were considered to be Quakers. These were Nathaniel Gardner, Jr. and Andrew Gardner, aged 21 and 19 respectively. They were both seamen - probably living with Captain Ebenezer, as of course they were orphans. There were also their cousins: Samuel Gardner, aged 26, Jethro Gardner, aged 25; Barnabas Gardner, aged 23; and Jonathan Gardner, aged 22. The latter two were unmarried, living with the original Quakeress their grandmother. Samuel and Jethro were whalers, while Barnabas and Jonathan were ordinary seamen. Samuel Gardner served as constable in 1711, while Captain Ebenezer became a Selectman in 1717. Thus the Gardners had increased from two to seven, so that this family topped the Coffins and Starbucks in numbers.

Captain Jabez Bunker, aged 40, as he too had become, was an Overseer and civically speaking responsible. A juror, he became constable in 1714 and pound keeper the next year. His brother, Benjamin Bunker, now aged 35, had married the Paddack girl in Yarmouth in 1709 and had set up his home in Nantucket. He was it will be recalled, a whaler. This family had not expanded. Nathaniel Paddack, aged 33, was the sole figure as a decade before with that name. He was a whaling outfitter.

Matthew Jenkins, aged 27, was the last of the original men cited. He was a juryman a decade before, and again in 1718, but otherwise unnoticed in town affairs. Matthew was now an officer on a whaling craft. Naturally, he was the sole bearer of this name. There were 36 male Members carrying the original names in the Meeting. Nearly double the original list. 18

It would seem that the "plague" struck the Barnard family. Nathaniel Barnard Jr., aged 48, and both his parents died within weeks of each other. The son had been a Quaker nine years. Given to jury service, in 1715, he was elected town surveyor. Having lost two wives, he now left his third wife a double widow, and five small children - one an orphan. The Court allowed his three year old son to choose a non-Quaker uncle for guardian but reserved the right to choose for the one year old! A double estate had

to be settled. Ebenezer Barnard, aged 22, a brother of Nathaniel Jr., received a half share of his father's house, which was to be shared with John, a much older non-Quaker brother. They were his executors. Curiously, most of his personal effects went to Ebenezer. It was a substantial estate, though it would appear that the senior Nathaniel was unbelievably illiterate - else probably paralysed. He was 76 years of age, while his wife was 73. Naturally the son died intestate. Nathaniel Barnard Jr. was the second Friend to marry under the care of the Meeting. Captain Silvanus Hussey and John Macy were asked to evaluate the Estate (£249. 19. 10d) which went to his wife. There were 142 sheep, 4 oxen, a large quantity of fencing materials, and a good many debts owed by Indians. Only a minor part of this was inherited from his father. Another brother of Nathaniel Jr, Benjamin Barnard, aged 37, was a Member. As officer on Gardner's sloop, he was well placed. There were also two children of John. That is, a niece and a nephew of the two Barnard brothers, who were old enough to be Members of Business Meeting. Robert Barnard, aged 16, later to be a most responsible Elder was the "man" in point. There was thus three of that name.

The Macys naturally formed an important element. John Macy, aged 43 was an Elder, and a carpenter in daily life. Jabez Macy, aged 36 was his associate. Thomas Macy, aged 34, was an overseer, a juryman, and wharf builder. Finally, Richard Macy, aged 32, was associated with Thomas. He also was an overseer. There were thus four of this name.

Of the Marshall name there was only one. Joseph Marshall, aged 46 a widower, whose name appears in civic affairs only as a juror. Another new name was that of Pinkham. Shubael Pinkham, aged 27, had married a sister of Jabez Bunker in 1712, out of Meeting, but became active in 1716 at the death of her father. He was a whaler. And finally there was Thomas Clark, aged 53, a weaver of Plymouth origins, who became a Member about 1717. It was evident that the occasional individual was now attracted to a going concern. Thus another ten names were added, producing a men's membership of 47 as compared to 22 ten years before. Probably a dozen men attended regularly at the start - now double that number.

The women's meeting made nearly parallel progress, with a larger average attendance - dur largely to the fact that the women didn't go whaling. Again in following the pattern of the 1708 chapter, we find that the original Quakeress was still there. Sarah (Shattuck)Gardner was then aged 87, and very probably to be found each first day and fifth day in the Ministers and Elders Gallery - grandmother to half the white people on the Island. It will be recalled in 1708 she had five Quaker granddaughters. These were all alive and active: Sarah Paddack, of course, lived on the Cape, Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham, aged 27; Hannah (Cardner) Bunker, aged 32; Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, aged 33 and Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, aged 32 were the others. Sarah (Macy) Barnard, aged 41, was still another and had been brought in by the Macy influx, as was Judith (Worth) Macy, aged 29. Two more of Minister Nathaniel's orphans were Judith (Gardner) Barnard, aged 25, and Margaret (Gardner) Folger, aged 23. Eight granddaughters rather than four made up this list.

Sarah Varney (as she had become) was still alive in New Hampshire as were her two daughters; Deborah (Austin) Coffin, aged 66, and Mary (Austin) Gardner, aged 63 (inactive). Granddaughters were but two: Deborah (Coffin) Macy, aged 33, and Miriam Coffin, cited above as granddaughter to Sarah Gardner. This family did not increase its membership in the Women's Meeting. At the end of 1718 Deborah (Austin) Coffin died leaving her mother, at least two sisters, four sons, four daughters, fifteen grandsons, and fourteen granddaughters - a total of 38 children.

The Women's Clerk, Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, aged 43, had one sister in Meeting, Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, aged 45. Dorcas had two Quaker daughters; Sarah (Starbuck) Macy, aged 21 and, Eunice Starbuck, aged 17: Damaris had none. This family thus doubled. Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, the men's clerk's wife, was aged 42. One of her sisters Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker, aged 37, was also a Member. As for daughters, Dinah alone had four: Mary (Starbuck) Folger, aged 26: Priscilla (Starbuck) Coffin, aged 22: Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, aged 20: and Hephzibah Starbuck, aged 18. This last daughter was just beginning to "appear in the Ministry." This family had thus doubled its number.

Minister Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, aged 42, had of course, a sister, Hephzibah Hathaway, a Minister of Dartmouth Meeting and can be thought of as replacing her mother, the great Mary, the head of the Meeting. The new Head of the Meeting, Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard, aged 42, was still there, with addition one daughter, Kezia (Folger) Gardner, aged 19, doubling this family. Then there was her sister-in-law, Experience (Look) Coffin, aged 43. One last Coffin was the orphan, Eunice (Coffin) Gardner, aged 25 - but due to die during this year of 1718. Eunice, her older sister Abigail Fitch was probably a Quaker in Boston.

The Bunker family not only included Ann (Bunker) Paddack, aged 33, and Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, aged 29, but Mary (Bunker) Coffin, aged 30, of Edgartown - an increase of one. The Pinkhams had one additional figure to add, Deborah (Pinkham) Macy, aged 24.

The Husseys contributed Puella (Hussey) Gorham, aged 51, and Theodate Hussey, aged 18, a new Member. There was also the sister-in-law Abigail (Hall) Hussey, aged 38, Bethiah Folger, aged 26, and her sister, Abigail Folger, aged 15, were the females of that family both unmarried. (The latter was new). Before the year was out, Bethia would marry Samuel Barker, aged 55, a widower farmer living at Woods Hole, an attender at Falmouth Meeting - but upon marrying Bethia, would transfer his Membership to Nantucket. His first wife had belonged to the famous Wing family of Sandwich. He in turn was nephew of William Barker, Quaker visitor to Nantucket in 1708, 1711 and 1715.

Anna (?) Trott, aged 63, and her daughter Mary Trott, aged 28, were Members, as well as Anna's sister-in-law, Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright,

aged 58, Sarah (Skiff) Long, aged 46 replaced the disowned daughter of Anna Trott. Another daughter of Anna's, Abigail Trott, aged 25, had also come into the Meeting, probably about 1711.

The Swain representative was Patience (Swain) Gardner, aged 35, a new Member since 1708. Mary (Church) Clark, aged 40, was a new Member as well. The Barnards produced Jemima Barnard, aged 19, great-granddaughter of Sarah Gardner through her Quaker mother. The Gorhams produced Abigail (Gorham) Lovell, who as Puella's daughter attended Women's Meeting rebelliously for a year or so before "marrying out" in 1716. In 1718 she was aged 19. There was also a Mary Rogers, aged 38, spinster cousin of the Barnards.

We then turn to the Macy family where Judith (Worth) Macy, aged 29, held an important place and as well her sister-in-law Sarah (Macy) Barnard, aged 41. Sarah had one daughter Jemima Barnard, in the Meeting, as above noted.

In looking over the women's list we come to a total of 47 in contrast to the 29 - their attendance grew from one score to two score - about once again by half larger than the Men's Business Meeting in practise. There were only five elderly people in a Meeting of 92 adult Members. Children just have numbered 150 by this time. In other words in ten years the Meeting had more than doubled. There were eight elderly members in 1708. The Meeting had grown younger.

At the turn of the century, there were 300 white Nantucketers, grown to 721 by 1718, when the first official census was taken - thus about one third of the Island had become Quaker ten years after the founding of the Meeting.

WHY NANTUCKET QUAKERS?

EPILOGUE 396-449

A recent study published (1976) by the Cambridge Press, written by Jonathan Steinberg was entitled Why Switzerland? Emphasizes the timeliness of the title of this series. It is a fairly long way from a "grandfather for Benjamin Franklin" to a "grandfather for Lucretia (Coffin) Mott." Incidentally, in my second table of contents, before this series was completed, I had envisaged concluding with Peleg Folger, after Elihu Coleman, the next descendof the first Nantucket publisher to undertake literary activity. On reflection I since decided to conclude this series of twenty-one Nantucket Quaker profiles with Benjamin Coffin, whose active career finished before the Revolutionary War. Peleg Folger's active career went on nearly to his death in 1789. Admittedly Elihu Coleman (the second literary figure) died that year, but his retirement antedated even that of Benjamin Coffin (who died in 1780).

Peter Folger, the subject of the introductory profile, died in 1690. Just ninety-nine years before his great-grandsons; Elihu Coleman and Peleg Folger finished their earthly careers. Organized Quakerism reached Nantucket in 1698. Its story is told in these twenty-one tapes to 1763, that is during its first two generations, with admittedly some indication of what followed in its third generation. (I intend the profile of Peter Folger to open a second series to cover the third crucial generation.)

What emerges from the first series, I think, is a remarkable "success" story. Neither Mary (Holder) Slocomb nor Thomas Story had any inkling how important the Meeting they helped found would become. Mary (Coffin) Starbuck was honored by the careers of her two sons in profile: Nathaniel and Jethro Starbuck; and three grandsons; Paul Starbuck, Nathaniel Coleman and Elihu Coleman. Stephen Hussey similarly was honored by his son Batchellor Hussey who founded the first Nantucket colony in Maine.

The Starbuck-Macy partnership which made whaling a deep sea success is honored by profiles involving Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, her nephew Benjamin Coffin, John Macy and his brother Jabez Macy. The second Nantucket colony in Barrington, Nova Scotia is honored by the profile involving Leah (Folger) Gardner-Paddack, while lesser movements to and from the Island find reflection in those devoted to Jabez Bunker and Matthew Jenkins. The tragedy of the Commons quarrel finds its mirror in the profiles of Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard Wilcox, and above all, in that devoted to David Gardner. And the third colony of Nantucket in North Carolina is reflected in the profile devoted to William Coffin.

Quakerism, whaling, colonization, and property quarrels, kept in proportionate balance, have much to say about the "success" story encountered here. In the third generation, this balance was lost, at least temporarily, due largely to population explosion on the Island, and to a changing religious climate within the wider Society of Friends - but above all, because the 18th century British Empire broke up in what we call the American Revolutionary War. The very existence of the Island and its livelihood was called in question.

Tape Five, Side Nine

CHAPTER XI - JABEZ BUNKER (1 to end)

In Which early movements of Quaker families on and off the Island are noted

Jabez Bunker, 1678-1750, (who died the year before John Macy Jr. did) was a founder member of Nantucket Monthly Meeting with his wife, Hannah (Gardner) Bunker. She was an outstanding elder of Nantucket Monthly Meeting and she was a daughter of minister Nathaniel Gardner. They had married in 1706 so that all their eight children were birthright members. No doubt Jabez Bunker worked with Sarah Austin to persuade John Macy and his brothers to cast their lot with the Meeting. For Jabez was John's first cousin. Mary (Macy) Bunker, Jabez' mother kept her distance from Meeting, dying in 1729, in the house built by William Bunker for her in 1709 on Pine Street in Nantucket. Originally William had moved to Nantucket in 1673 at the height of the proprietary problems to build the first mill. After that he and Mary retired quitetly to Siasconset - possibly to build the first residence there.

William's parents were liberal puritans. His father had died before Nantucket was settled. His mother, Jane (Godfrey) Bunker, married Richard Swain (Quaker John's father) as his second wife and moved onto the island with her five children. We have run into two of William's sisters, Mary (Bunker) Coffin, wife of landowner Stephen, and Martha (Bunker) Hussey, puritan wife of lawyer Stephen. The eldest, Elizabeth (Bunker) Lock, had married onto Martha Vineyard. (Her daughter, Experience (Lock) Coffin, joined Friends and became an elder as wife of minister Stephen Coffin Jr.) Another sister, Anne (Bunker) Coleman, wife of Joseph (uncle to John Coleman Jr.) was no longer living.

And Jabez Bunker had a brother Benjamin in the Meeting. He was one of four brothers lost at sea in 1722. The two brothers who survived were Congregationalists (as was one drowned brother). The elder survivor was George Bunker, successor to James Coffin as representative in the Provincial Legislature in Boston, and as Clerk of the Proprietary in 1731, when Nathaniel Starbuck resigned that office. George's wife was sister to Dinah Starbuck. It is quite obvious that as long as Nathaniel Starbuck lived he would not be party to disowning Friends who associated with Congregationalists - even to the extent of marrying them. The younger surviving Congregationalist brother, Peleg Bunker, married Susannah Coffin (his cousin), daughter of Stephen and Mary (Bunker) Coffin. In this case her mother's puritanism not her father's Quakerism prevailed. But one of George and Deborah's three children left the puritan tradition to join Friends. And two of Peleg and Susannah's nine did the same. There was a certain free movement back and forth between the two religious bodies in the early years which came to be glossed over in the light of later events.

Still another dimension of the Bunker family was the fact that all the nine children of Jabez' brother Jonathan (who was lost in 1722) joined Meeting between the years 1715 and 1738. Their mother, Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker, later Clark, was the only sibling of Dinah Starbuck to join Friends. Her influence was a strong one. Thomas Clark, of a distinguished Mayflower family in Plymouth, had moved onto the island and joined Friends with his first wife. So it was that Thomas and Elizabeth were married under the care of the Meeting (each a second time) in 1723.

Thus in Jabez Bunker's generation there were three families of Quaker Bunkers (like the three families of Quaker Macys) as well as representatives from two puritan Bunker families. John Macy had three Quaker sisters. Jabez Bunker also had three.

Mary (Bunker) Coffin wife of Tristram Coffin (the younger), was a resident of Edgartown, where her father and mother-in-law initiated the little Quaker Meeting there - and one which Mary kept alive from 1711 to 1763 at least. Ann (Bunker) Paddack was wife of Nathaniel Paddack of Yarmouth, who came to marry her in 1706 and live on the island. She was an active elder, which probably did not make life easy for him. He was one of the men up for drunkenness in 1731, along with Shubael Coffin (later disowned). And Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham brought Shubael Pinkham into Meeting as their children grew up. He was a grandson of magistrate James Coffin (nephew of Dinah Starbuck and of Elizabeth Clark). There was still a fourth non-Quaker sister, Jane (Bunker) Watson, whose husband had no Quaker interest.

Jabez Bunker began his service for the Meeting in 1719. Hannah started hers in 1728. Soon she outdistanced her husband, and continued actively after his death. She was, of course, influenced by her father, even though he was out of the picture by 1714. It will be recalled that there were 60 weddings in the first quarter century of the Meeting. It took only eleven years more to witness another grouping of 60 weddings. For nine of these Hannah Bunker played an important role. It is interesting to contrast the second 60 weddings with the first. Again one wedding did not take place. Apparently the would-be groom got "cold feet" and never appeared. He was an off-islander, probably from Sandwich Monthly Meeting. Some years later this man, William Swan, died a bachelor, leaving his small property to a friend. His would-be bride was married not too many years afterwards. All told 122 people stood up, four more than in the earlier period. Only two stood up twice - though four others had been married a first time in the 1708-1733 period. For thirteen in all this was for a second marriage (down two from 1708-1733 period - down five if third marriages are counted). Fourteen were for off-islanders (down three). Forty-nine natives joined Meeting through marriage application (down one). Three couples were childless (down one). Seven couples emigrated directly upon marriage (increase of five). A total of 324 children were born to the other 51 couples (55 couples had 389 children during the first 25 years). This grand total of 712 children is far from the absolute total of children in the Meeting if we count those of the original Friends and those of others who joined after marrying; this probably raised the number to well over 1,000 - and this for 36 years of the life of the Meeting! Finally in comparison to the 18 marriages lasting fifty years and longer, there were only 11 such among the second set of 62 marriage proposals.

The enormous geometric growth of the wider Quaker community on Nantucket made it more difficult to keep track of all the members, particularly as whaling took some men as far south as Carolina while others sailed across the Ocean. The increase of couples leaving the island is significant, but still a limited movement. Others went for more or less temporary periods. Some of these we know and they should be examined, at least those involved up to the mid-century mark, after noticing more carefully who were the young couples emigrating.

In 1733 John Folger, son of Jethro and Mary (Starbuck) Folger, grandson of Nathaniel (the first clerk) wed Rebecca Baker, daughter of John of Yarmouth Meeting, and then emigrated there. In future years at least one of their children would marry back onto the island. In 1735 William Russell, son of the Joseph and Mary of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting, who would found New Bedford in another thirty years, appeared to marry Elizabeth Smith, daughter of Armstrong and Mehitable (Coffin) Smith, granddaughter of the late landowner, Stephen Coffin Sr. - the only one of this Congregationalist family to "turn" Quaker. In 1737 James Mitchell, brother of minister Richard Mitchell, appeared to marry Anna Folger, sister of John (who had moved to the cape four years before). At least one son of this union returned to Nantucket to marry in another generation. Meanwhile visitors at Quarterly and Yearly Meeting often lodged with Anna (Folger) Mitchell in Newport. Still another Rhode Island Friend

proposed marriage in 1739 to Priscilla Arthur, daughter of John and Mary (Folger) Arthur, granddaughter of Nantucket's first schoolmaster. This family was unchurched. Priscilla alone became a Friend. Later that same year a Dartmouth member, Peter Taber, son of Joseph, undertook to wed Sarah Jernegan of Edgartown (daughter of Thomas deceased) in Nantucket Meeting. Sarah was obviously one of those drawn into the small Edgartown Meeting. They settled near what would become New Bedford. Also in 1739 Joshua Shearman also of Dartmouth (son of Timothy) asked for the hand of Hannah Stratton, daughter of the Hannah (Cartwright) Stratton, whose parlous state financially speaking has been noticed. Her twin sister, Miriam, simultaneously wed James Perry (son of Eliphel Perry) a visiting elder from Westbury, R.I. But in this case the Perrys elected to stay on the island. Eventually Miriam tired of Meeting and joined the Congregational Church, so that she and all her family were disowned in a relatively short time. We may well wonder if the Shearmans proved better Friends.

In 1742 Clothier Pierce Jr. of Newport sought the hand of Lydia Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, granddaughter of Nathaniel, the clerk, and the late Stephen, lawyer. As in the case of Joshua Shearman, no Nantucket Committees of Enquiry were named. Both had been checked carefully by home Meetings. Actually Clothier's mother was a Nantucket girl. Clothier Pierce Sr. having lost his first wife, sought thehand of Mary (Allen) Coffin, widow of Paul Coffin, youngest son of landowner, Stephen Coffin Sr., and granddaughter of Joseph and Ann (Bunker) Coleman. Apparently Paul Coffin had moved to Newport, associating himself with Barnabas Starbuck and the whaling interests of the Starbucks in that city.

Finally in 1744 although not strictly speaking a case of emigration, Samuel Coffin, son of Tristram and Mary (Bunker) Coffin of Edgartown, married Elizabeth Gardner, daughter of Jonathan and Patience (Bunker) Gardner (great nephew and great niece respectively of Jabez Bunker as it happened). The Edgartown Town Clerk, John Norton, sent a note that the bans had been published in that town, which is a fascinating bit of evidence that Quakerism had been well accepted in the shire town by the mid-century. In any case Samuel and Elizabeth settled on the Vineyard. The puritan environment there however wrought havoc with the Quakerism of their ten children. The experience of this family perhaps more than any other decided the Nantucket Meeting against continuing to sponsor the small indulged Meeting for Worship in Edgartown.

However it should be pointed out that in the early decades of the century the reconciliation between the Mayhews and the Folgers was taking place. Matthew Mayhew, the old Governor's grandson, was deeply enough prejudiced against Nantucketers. But his son, Paine Mayhew, acutally married a Nantucket girl! This was in 1722 just as Nantucket town was moving away from Capaum Pond. The girl was Dinah Norton, daughter of Jacob Norton (of Vineyard descent) and Dionis (Coffin) Norton, daughter of landowner Stephen Coffin. This family were clearly sound Congregationalists, which probably won representative Matthew around. In fact one of his daughters, Bethiah, wed Dinah's brother, Jacob, in 1725. And by the time Paine Mayhew was sitting in the Colonial Legislature (as was John Bunker in Nantucket) he could see no reason against his daughter, Sarah Mayhew (by an earlier marriage) entering into matrimony in 1727 with Abishai Folger, son of Nathan and Sarah (Church) Folger (granddaughter of schoolteacher Eliezer). Abishai and Sarah were apparently married by the Edgartown Town Clerk, after which Sarah went to live on the Quaker island. After her early death in 1734, Abishai remarried, choosing Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, daughter of minister Stephen, widow of Benjamin (who was drowned in 1731). So Abishai became a Friend, and his three children by his Mayhew wife were all raised as Quakers.

When Paine Mayhew died, his seat in Boston was taken by Squire Thomas Cooke (whose house in Edgartown serves as the headquarters of the Historical Society on the island). One of Squire Cooke's sisters Mary Cooke, married Richard Coffin, son of Tristram and Mary (Bunker) Coffin. This happened in 1750 out-of-Meeting. But by then the first family of Dukes County had affirmed in action their approval of the Quaker strain. Richard and Mary Coffin emigrated to Addison, Maine, in 1770, where Nantucket Monthly Meeting lost track of him. Apparently he floated off into limbo - or just possibly they found a Friends Meeting nearby to which they attached themselves. In any case they followed in the tracks of Batchellor and Abigail Hussey. Did old Jabez Bunker learn that his great nephew had married a Cooke of Edgartown? It was the year his great-uncle died.

In 1733 an ordinary nephew of Jabez Bunker, Daniel Bunker, Quaker son of representative George, took his wife Priscilla (Swain) Bunker and their four children to Hudson, New York (to introduce whaling?). They had been attending Meeting since about 1720. Priscilla was a granddaughter of both the original Quaker, John Swain, and of the Baptist preacher, Peter Folger. Four of her siblings were drawn into the Congregational Church, two of them into the Friends Meeting. In any case in Hudson, Daniel and Priscilla identified themselves with the local Friends Meeting. She died in 1737, so Daniel brought his family back to Nantucket, to the house on Bear Street (in the quarter which the Hussey's dominated) which he built or had rebuilt in 1724. His return occurred in 1740. He then remarried in 1741, out-of-Meeting, choosing a widow, Margaret (Coffin) Davis, widow of John (first of his name on the island). She was a daughter of Peter ("Hope") and Hope Coffin, granddaughter of Major John of Edgartown. (They had one son who eventually joined Meeting).

It is not clear why Daniel Bunker went to Hudson. It was a superbly located site for a protected whaling headquarters - and indeed in another 40 years it developed as such as a colony of Nantucket. The mystery does not stop here, for another nephew of Jabez Bunker, James Bunker, (son of Elizabeth Clark) went to Hudson upon marrying Bethiah Jenkins, granddaughter of Bethiah (Macy) Gardner (John Macy's aunt) in 1737. In this case they married under the care of Nantucket Meeting. Five children were born to them before 1749, when Bethiah died, and back they came to Nantucket, a decade after his cousin Daniel. James, however, did not remarry. But he had developed a taste for other places than the far away island. In 1762 he was one of those responsible for the Barrington Township, Nantucket, colony in Nova Scotia. These he stayed till lost at sea in 1772.

One of James Bunker's brothers, Obed Bunker, got permission from their mother to marry one Mary Duane at an unnamed mainland Meeting in 1738 - probably in New England. They returned to live in his house at Carrs Point on the Upper Harbor where after the birth of three children, Obed died in 1743. His widow remarried in 1750, out-of-Meeting, to Thomas Carr, the first of his name on the island. One of their three sons eventually married into Dartmouth Meeting. The other two simply drifted into limbo, particularly after their mother's death in 1756. They married out, lived on Nantucket, and were ignored, not disowned by the Meeting.

Given this tendency of the Bunkers to move about without taking cognizance of Meeting protocol, is it any surprise to find that five of Jabez' children eventually moved to Hudson (within the compass of Oblong Monthly Meeting)?

In looking over other families there was also a bit of this uncertified coming and going. One involved Representative Abishai Folger's sister, Leah Folger, who initially married Richard Gardner (III) out of Meeting in 1724. He died within the

year, leaving her with a small daughter. Then in 1727 she remarried apparently in Yarmouth Meeting to Seth Paddack, a grandson of Stephen Hussey. By 1740 they reappeared on the island, where she became an exceedingly active elder and marriage counsellor. She and Seth joined the Barrington settlement in 1763 and simply and quite incredibly drifted away from the knowledge of the Nantucket Meeting. The Barrington settlement failed. But they also failed to return, leaving a son on the island who married out, but was ignored like Obed Bunker's sons.

Another not quite similar situation involved Peleg Gardner, son of Jethro and Kezia, grandson of Judith Wilcox, who married Eunice Gorham, granddaughter of Mary Starbuck's eldest daughter, in Yarmouth Meeting in 1744. They had three children and then returned to Nantucket about 1751, to find themselves involved by 1754 in a property question of dimensions not yet encountered. In fact Peleg was disowned for the role he played in this controversy - and was only restored in membership in time to be buried in the graveyard. It is just possible the strain under which Peleg was put shortened his life - though it would appear that Judith Wilcox passed on a congenital physical weakness to her descendants - a weakness scarcely met with elsewhere on the island.

A sister of Eunice (Gorham) Gardner, Theodate Gorham, had married Francis Coffin in 1727 in Yarmouth, he being a grandson of the original Sarah Gardner, yet born into a puritan household. They may well have lived in Yarmouth till his death in 1733. Then in 1735 she married Reuben Gardner (brother of minister David) and was certainly resident on Nantucket with the three children of her first marriage. She became a very active elder in Nantucket Meeting.

A third Gorham sister, Sarah, married Daniel Hussey, son of Captain Silvanus, in Yarmouth Meeting in 1735, but apparently they moved directly to Nantucket. More important for outside connections was his brother, Jonathan Hussey, who married Hephzibah Starbuck, daughter of the "crown prince" Paul Starbuck, in 1739, and then emigrated to Dartmouth in 1743. There Jonathan became a key elder, replacing the influence of Hephzibah Hathaway, his wife's great-aunt. A number of Jonathan and Hephzibah's children married back onto the island. In this case they did get a minute of transfer out.

Finally in this series there was Joseph Macy, son of Treasurer Thomas, who married in 1727, presumably under the care of a mainland Meeting. His wife was Hannah (Hobbs) Macy, who could have been of Carolina stock - at least a Quaker family of that name was to be found down there. It would seem possible that they only brought their family to the island about 1750. But no record of transfers were put down.

The fact Nantucketers sold whale oil at the Carolina Capes not only exposed them to the pirates of that area (Bluebeard, etc.) but encouraged them to note the growth of Quakerism there. In 1733 Coresound Monthly Meeting came into existence. At least one participant in its settlement was eager to persuade Nantucket Friends to settle there. He was Henry Stanton Jr., who first came to Nantucket in 1740. A kinsman of his, Daniel Stanton, of Philadelphia, had arrived in 1734 already. Daniel had married Sarah Lloyd of the governing family of Pennsylvania and was one of the first of the mid-18th century of Friends to sense that Quakerism needed to find a new and vitally different orientation than it already had. Daniel was a nephew of Thomas Chalkley. His father had been a member of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting in Newport. So it was that Daniel Stanton understood the background of Nantucket Quakerism fully. His journal account noted "a great number of choice exemplary Friends" on the island. Jacob Barney had brought his over. Daniel would be back in 1754 after Nathaniel Starbuck's death - when catastrophe was beginning to loom for the Meeting.

Henry Stanton Jr. presented a minute from Newport River, N.C., just as a kinsman of his, Samuel Stanton (who had married Sarah Coffin, granddaughter of Major John of Edgartown in 1730) died in 1733. The Samuel Stantons might otherwise have emigrated. In fact both Samuel's sons went to North Carolina in the early 1770s.

The war of Jenkins Ear, which had started in 1739 enlarged into the war of the Austrian succession in 1740 and then into King George's war with France by 1743. Until the peace of Aix-la-Chappelle in 1748 and 1749 there was little use in undertaking emigration as far away as in Carolina. Henry Stanton did come back again in 1761 and again in 1764, but by that time Nantucket's energies were being drawn toward Nova Scotia.

The first North Carolina Friend to visit Nantucket was Thomas Pierce of Perquimons Monthly Meeting (in the Tidewater area). His visit had occurred in 1716. In 1734 Zachariah Nixon (ancestor of the U.S. President) arrived. Thomas Chalkley himself in visiting in 1737 had come by way of the British West Indies, of which Carolina seemed almost to be a part.

Two Friends did seriously think of venturing into the Carolina region once peace was established in 1749. One was Captain John Hussey, son of Batchellor (then of Bidderford Maine). Captain John was lost overboard, apparently on a trip of exploration in that year. A second response resulted in equal tragedy when Captain Benjamin Worth, grandson of a New Jersey immigrant to Nantucket (Richard Worth), was lost on a similar trip in 1750. Benjamin was a great-grandson of the original John Swain through his mother. He had joined Meeting by marrying Mary Folger, granddaughter of Thomas Clark, in Meeting in 1745. These deaths rather quietened interest in emigration southwards particularly as hostilities with the French of Canada were resumed in 1752.

The story of emigration to North Carolina came a good bit after the life-span of Jabez Bunker - and was characterized by extraordinary reticence on the part of the Monthly Meeting to let anybody go at all. Thereby hands a tale which probably has scarce its equal in any other Friends Meeting in the world.

Jabez Bunker died in 1750 aged 72. His widow would continue on in their home at 85 Main Street on Nantucket, another 23 years. His son, Abner, who never married, lived on there another 30 years. As was common on Nantucket the residence passed to the youngest son, Peleg, who had only married in 1749. A then unmarried sister, Hannah, also lived at the home, but in 1766 she would find a marriage companion.

Tape Five, Side Ten: Chapter XI Continued - Jabez Bunker (1-9)

Peter the next oldest brother had also married in 1749. Naomi, the eldest, was married as early as in 1726. Samuel, who had taken on running a mill, was a very active Friend, due to be swept into the vortex of the property quarrel in the next decade. He had married in 1731. Paul, his merchant prince brother, had done so in 1736. And Benjamin had wed in 1743. Benjamin and Peleg were due to emigrate after the Revolutionary War. Even Jabez steady family was somewhat affected by the American fever by which today one fifth of the inhabitants of the country change their domicile every year.

WHY NANTUCKET QUAKERS? (CHAPTER FOURTEEN CONCLUSION) 1-138

Paul also inherited half a wharf and warehouses, and other valuables from his father. Paul Starbuck was then one of the great landownders on the Island. In that year of 1753 the outstanding visitor was Theophilus Shove from Rhode Island, who had commenced his ministry on Nantucket in 1736, seventeen years before. And Daniel Stanton who nearly came to grief in 1742, upon entering Nantucket Harbor, plucked up courange to make it again in 1754. Samuel Fothergill was the star in 1755 when Captain John Starbuck's estate went before the courts. Typical of a young "plunger" he was worth £1,984. 4. 6d gross, but the real value came when £826.15.11d in debts were taken out. His house alone was worth £900 and his whaling wharehouse £300. Paul had to get the Court's permission to sell some of his property.

In 1756, Jane (Fenn) Hoskins was the key visitor having been on the Island in 1725, as we have observed, before she was married and in 1733 and 1740. Then in 1757 Christopher Wilson of County Cumberland was back after a thirteen years' break. For the 50th Anniversary, Samuel Spavold of Hertfordshire appeared, a visionary type, who still seemed to win acceptance from the rational worthies of the 18th century.

Paul Starbuck didn't quite last to General Meeting time in 1759. His house went to his third wife and eventually to her daughter. One sixth of his estate went to Edward, the new "prince", including specifically his lots in the town, and his share in wharf and try lots. Samuel and Joseph each got sixth shares, as did sons (non-Quaker) of the late Captain John. Cow commons went to his daughters. And there was an enormous list of land titles which Paul gave to this or that heir. Certainly he had been a rich man. His silver plate alone was worth £42. Elizabeth Starbuck inherited in the end a third of his large estate.

Actually, William Starbuck, Paul's first cousin, had always somehow outshone the "crown prince." He came out in the Ministry in 1721, when aged 22 - and when Paul was off on sea voyages being five years younger than his cousin. William's wife, Anna (Folger) Starbuck, whom he wed in 1720 (two years after Paul) was known as "Queen of the Quakers," so regal was her bearing. Her mother was Judith Wilcox. So in fact the cousins married sisters. Anna died the year before Kezia, that is, in 1748, leaving five children (one died in 1750 and another in 1755.) Minister William remarried in 1751, to Lydia Coleman, hitherto non-Quaker daughter of Jeremiah. And like Paul in his third marriage, William had another daughter by this marriage. Already in 1747 William lost his mother Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, and two sisters in 1745 and 1751.

William's service to the Meeting ran from 1726 to 1760, the year in which he unexpectedly died, four years younger than Paul was at his death. He had been distrained in 1757 for failing to pay his war tax. (three silver spoons at value of £1 disappeared). William's widow got his house, land, cattle, equipment and half his sheep. It is curious that an elderly man - as William was - should have been survived by his father, three aunts, two sisters and one brother as well as his own household.

That year of 1760 also claimed Joseph Starbuck and his wife Ruth (Macy) Starbuck, they being both but 37 years of age, leaving three children - all minors. These deaths were followed in two years time by those of Priscilla

(Starbuck) Coleman and her husband John Coleman Jr., admittedly of good old ripe age. Then in 1763, Paul Starbuck's eldest sister, Mary, wife of Jethro Folger (Head of Meeting) died, and in 1764 Paul's ministering sister, Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey. If we count the death of Captain John Starbuck in 1755 and that of Paul's father in 1753, no less than five male Starbucks died in a period of seven years - and in the decade and a half from 1750 to 1765, four Starbuck women as well. To this may be added the death of John Coleman Jr. and of Judith Wilcox. In reality, a whole family - that of the founder - pretty well faded out. Other less generous, broadminded people would take their places in running Nantucket Meeting.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

PAUL STARBUCK OR HOW THE SECOND GENERATION OF STARBUCKS QUIT THE ESTABLISHMENT

Paul Starbuck, 1694-1759, son and heir of the universal clerk, grandson of the founder Mary Starbuck, town clerk, selectman, Quaker elder - many times responsible for the repairing of the windows of the great meeting house, was never recognized for his true worth - partly because he lived only six years after his father died, and in the midst of the Commons Case excitement. But in another sense, Paul Starbuck's death underscored the collapse of the first Quaker family on the Island. This collapse equalled the strange dead-end which one encounters in the life of Jabez Macy. Such did not mean that the Quaker Starbucks and Macys were finished off. Far from it. But it did signify a weather change in Nantucket's Quaker fortunes.

Paul was aged eight when his grandmother and father became Quakers. He started to attend the men's meeting about the time the original Meeting House was built. But he soon went to sea. By 1720 he was in London selling Nantucket whale oil. He was 26 then, and two years earlier was married to his first wife, Ann (Tibbetts) Starbuck, grand-daughter of his greataunt Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin-Varney. At the time of his death in 1759, Ann's uncle, Ephriam Tibbitts, made a visit from Abington, Pennsylvania, probably to see Paul - but also to look into the muddied situation which would push Jabez Macy into limbo. Ann died in 1736 leaving Paul a widower, aged 42, with nine children.

Naturally Paul remarried. His second wife, Kezia (Folger) Gardner-Starbuck, was a daughter of Judith Wilcox, and an elder in her own right. This fact drew Paul Starbuck into the service of the meeting. In 1734, 1739 (twice) in 1740 (thrice), 1742, 1743 (twice), 1747, and in 1748, Paul helped pen Quarterly Reports. In 1742 he attended Quarterly Meeting and in 1758 the year before he died, Paul served on the all-powerful Visiting Committee. There were thirteen Marriage Committee appointments in the two decades from 1737-1757. As early as 1732 he had helped arrange the financing of the great Meeting House which he repaired in 1741, 1743, 1745 and in 1747 - when he oversaw the building of the Youth Galleries.

Paul ceased much of his active Quaker work when Kezia died in 1749 then in 1751 he remarried a second time, to a widow Elizabeth (Strattan) Coffin-Starbuck, resident of Boston, who joined the meeting by their marriage. She had children by her previous husband, as did Kezia. So theirs was a busy household. And to Paul and Elizabeth was born his tenth child. Elizabeth survived Paul and lived on his residence until her death in 1780, when she was 68. Paul died aged 64.

Not only was Paul's home lively, but hospitable. Visiting Friends were normally "doled" out to the leading Quaker households on the Island. Paul Starbuck's house had high priorities on it. Such may have included John Cadwallader in 1729. He had come on for Paul's grandmother's last days in 1717. In 1730 Obadiah Lawrence who had visited in 1722 when Capam Harbor closed was back again. In 1731 Henry Frankland, from the old country, attended the last General Meeting ever held out on the moors. He wrote of "a small Island but a large meeting of Friends." In that year, the first book of marriage certificates was finished off - some 56 having been entered. (in 22 years). A second book of 246 entries got finished off in 1756.

Then in 1732, Paul's father turned over his four year tenure as Meeting Treasurer to Paul's uncle Jethro Starbuck. John Richardson came for the opening of the great Meeting House and then both men's and women's clerks stepped down. Joseph Marshall and Paul's mother, Dinah Starbuck, constituted the new regime. The David Irish who visited from Rhode Island in 1733 had been on the Island in 1715 with Benjamin Holme, the anti-slavery advocate who now sent on a letter no doubt approving of Elihu Coleman's pamphlet.

Soon after this, Joseph Rotch - apprenticed to Paul Starbuck - stood up in Meeting to marry. So in more ways than one, the Rotch empire was closely affiliated to the earlier Starbuck domain. in 1734 it was the case of Jane Hoskins Fenn, a visitor returning to the island she had known nine years before from Pennsylvania. Also in 1734 Jethro Gardner, 39 year old first husband of Paul Starbuck's second wife died leaving eight children. As he died intestate the court gave Kezia care of the estate and the minor children. Kezia and Jethro had been married in 1716, the first couple to stand up in the enlarged original Meeting House.

Then as 1735 came along, Ann Starbuck died, and Paul's father took back the job of meeting treasurer from uncle Jethro. Also Joseph Russell, future founder of New Bedford appeared, to make the acquaintance of Joseph Rotch, who would join him in that venture in a quarter century's time. Two other visitors John Backhouse, an Englishman, and Joseph Gill, an Irishman, left singularly unimaginative journal accounts recording their visit to Nantucket that year. Surely some of these visitors stayed with Paul Starbuck? The year 1736 brought a record number of travellers including John Casey and David Irish who would play roles in the Commons Case. It seems that elders were now meeting separately from ministers, at Quarterly Meeting time - a conservative line New England Friends could well do without.

Thomas Chalkley, <u>the</u> visitor of 1737, noted how Nathaniel Starbuck went with him to Yearly Meeting in Newport. Paul was only four years of age when Chalkley had first reached the Island. His second visit was followed by Paul's second marriage. Joseph Mitchell, a minister of Newport Meeting, brother of Richard, minister on Nantucket, was perhaps the outstanding guest in 1738. James Stanyon of Hampton Monthly Meeting (Massachusetts) filled that bill in 1749, having been on the island some nineteen years before. Peter Davis of Westerly and Christopher Townsend shared honors in 1740. Both would serve on Commons Committees. Both had been on the Island in recent years. One visitor - Mary Foulks of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting Pennsylvania, had her returning minute from Spightstown Monthly Meeting on Barbados read to Nantucket Monthly Meeting.

War had broken out in 1739, the first time since 1713, so the colonists were anxious. Notwithstanding, Philip Pollard, put in safely in 1740, having visited his old Meeting in Britain, and brought back a collection of Barclay's <u>Apologies</u>. Henry Stanton Jr., of Coresound Monthly Meeting (North Carolina) was the outstanding visitor in 1740. The following year, Mehitable Pollard took on the women's treasury, which Dorcas Starbuck had cared for since 1708. And Mary (Gardner) Gardner, wife of minister David, began her long incumbancy as Meeting House caretaker. Dorcas had so acted since 1711. And Nathaniel Starbuck, (Paul's father) turned over definitively his treasury job to Benjamin Coffin, schoolteacher-banker. Perhaps the war stirred the meeting to change. In any case, Dinah Starbuck handed over the women's clerkship to her sister-in-law Priscilla Coleman.

John Griffith, the English Quaker visitor in 1741, found the meeting "large, quiet and good." Still there were only ten "ministers" in the meeting, only one more than when the Select Meeting had been formed on the Island in 1728. By 1743 Quarterly Meeting reported the ministry was weak on the Island.

Samuel Hopwood, one of the visitors in 1741, went with Paul's parents to Dartmouth General Meeting, of which he wrote a description in his journal. This Cornish Friend returned in 1742 to share in the near shipwreck which soured John Churchman on the Island. Edmond Peckover of Norfolk in England was the third informative journalist in this grouping. His account in 1743 notes how Paul's parents and his uncle Jethro and aunt Dorcas were among the two hundred and fifty families in the Meeting with fifty families outside. "A brave weighty solid people is among them." Peckover counted "eight Publick Friends" - but ten would be a more correct estimate.

By 1741, Paul's children began to marry. His eldest son Edward, who was then 22, wed Damaras Worth, a daughter of William. Then in 1743 his eldest daughter, Hephzibah wed Jonathan Hussey, son of Captain Silvanus, the whaling "commodore." They withdrew to the Acushnet River to operate a branch of the Starbuck whaling enterprise in Dartmouth Township. There they became solid elders of that Monthly Meeting. At least two of their children later married back onto the Island. Also in 1743, Hezekiah Gardner, Paul's second step-son, married Priscilla Swain, daughter of John Swain the younger. In 1744 two more Quaker weddings occurred in this household, when Joseph Starbuck Paul's second son, wed Ruth Macy, wharf-builder Richard's daughter, and his first step-son Peleg Gardner, married Eunice Gorham, daughter of Stephen in Yarmouth. It was this Peleg, who fell afoul of the Jabez Macy Disownment Committee in 1755, when he had moved back onto the Island. Peleg would only outlive Paul Starbuck by two years, finishing his earthly course the year he was reinstated in membership.

Christopher Wilson of Cumberland was the outstanding guest minister in 1745. He witnessed the retirement of Paul's father from business and that of Priscilla Coleman from the women's clerkship. Mehitable Pollard, Philip's wife, was her successor. And as Mehitable quit the women's treasury, that job passed to Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey, Paul's ministering sister. In another year, Paul's father would give up his post as book agent for the Meeting, a job he had handled for a quarter century - that is after Paul's uncle Barnabas Starbuck emigrated to Newport. Already in 1744 Benjamin Coffin had turned over the financial books of the Men's Meeting to John Macy - who would in 1747 relinquish them to Benjamin Barney - and himself take on the Select Meeting clerkship which Paul's father would give up in 1747, as well. One principal visitor in 1745 was, of course, Benjamin Ferris, of Oblong Monthly Meeting who played a role in the events leading to the Commons Case. And the same Samuel Nottingham who appeared in 1746, had moved to Tortola from Northamptonshire. He was about to remove to Philadelphia, thence back to Tortola, and back to Philadelphia, thence to Bristol via Flushing, New York and he would die in his home county. Such an example of moving about the earth

in pursuit of commerce and religion was not lost of Joseph Rotch's son William but of course John Woolman was the star Quaker visitor in 1747.

Meanwhile in 1746 two more of Paul's family married. His second daughter Abigail rather disgraced the household by eloping with William Hussey, a son of Captain Silvanus. However, serious council was heeded, they apologized for having to GET married and continued as strong Nantucket Quaker Elders and James Gardner, Paul's third step-son, wed Judith Folger, daughter of Daniel, grand-daughter of Judith Wilcox, but he was unfortunately lost at sea in 1748, leaving a childless widow to marry again.

In 1747, Joseph Marshall died, so the men's clerkship went to Captain Silvanus Hussey, his brother-in-law (and also brother-in-law of Paul Starbuck). Hussey would continue in that post until 1760 - that is after Paul's death - also Mehitable Pollard would resign the women's clerkship in 1761, as would Benjamin Barney his post of the men's treasury (having survived the ordeal of apology to Elihu Coleman). Judith Wilcox stopped timing the women's meeting in 1760. In 1748 John Coleman would stand down on the men's side as "timer", with Paul's brother-in-law, Jethro Folger, taking on the post for another twenty years. Hephzibah Hussey, Paul's sister, would give up the women's treasurers post in 1764, while cousin Barnabas Gardner would only relinquish his post of book agent in 1768. In other words, by 1747-1748, the Meeting had a new steady officer corps which would remain pretty unchanged until Paul Starbuck's death at least. Only in the Select Meeting would further replacements occur. Paul's father gave up its clerkship, his last, in 1748 to John Macy, who in turn was supplanted by Elihu Coleman in 1751, when Macy died. Elihu, was, of course, Paul's first cousin . Paul himself retired from town affairs in 1750. He had been selectman and moderator of Town Meetings for a decade or more. In fact, Paul's active life divides into three parts - whaling - civic responsibility - then semi-retirement. Kezia's death in 1749 proved a second turning point.

That year, Paul's most distinguished son, Samuel, married, choosing Abigail Barney, a daughter of Treasurer Benjamin. One of her sisters would marry William Rotch in four years time. And in 1749, a step-daughter, Judith Gardner, married Peter Bunker, son of elder Jabez. Judith, however, died young in 1758, the year before her step-father. The year before that a step-son, Joshua Gardner, was lost at sea. Two other step-sons married in 1752 having already left Paul's household. These were Peter Gardner who wed Deborah Pinkham, daughter of John, out-of-meeting, she being a member of the Congregational Church, and Matthew Gardner who married Susannah Paddack, daughter of Daniel in Meeting. But Matthew would die the same year as his step-father, leaving a widow and one small daughter. A final step-son of this Gardner descent was Jethro Jr., who wed Dinah Ellis, a non-Quaker, out-of-meeting in 1753. They emigrated to Hudson, New York, where he died in 1757, two years before his step-father. If there were children they were not Quakers.

Paul meanwhile, had married again in 1751 as already noted. Elizabeth (Stratton) Coffin's mother, Susannah (Cartwright) Stratton (who died destitute in 1750) had been a member of Nantucket Meeting as were one brother and two sisters. But Elizabeth had married Daniel Coffin, of a strong Congregationalist family in 1728 and had moved to Boston. There were probably five or six children in this family before Daniel died - possibly as early as 1741 or 1742. Elizabeth (Stratton) Coffin again probably returned to Nantucket about 1748. In any case, her eldest child, Anna, married Batcheller Hussey that year in Nantucket Meeting (he being son of Silvanus and Hephzibah Hussey). In any case, when Elizabeth Coffin married Paul Starbuck in 1751, she brought into his home with her, her two youngest children. These were Judith and Elizabeth Coffin aged 12 and 10 respectively. They married after their step-father's death. And in 1752 Dinah, their half-sister was born.

In the interim, Paul's daughter, Elizabeth, married Tristram Coffin Jr. in 1750 and in 1753 his daughter, Mary, wed Captain Richard Coffin Jr. Finally in 1755 Paul's next to last daughter, Ann, stood up with Rueben Pinkham, son of Theophilus. Then there were only five in Paul Starbuck's household, exclusive of course, of "help." He had been responsible for twenty children, not counting the two minor offsprings of Daniel Folger, Kezia Starbuck's brother who was lost at sea in 1744. These children - Mary and Daniel Folgor were aged 11 and 9 in 1744 and 16 and 14 when their aunt died. They then chose (as was the Colonial custom) a cousin, Jonathan Folgor to be their guardian. But the Court insisted that Jonathan share his guardianship with their step-father. In 1753 Mary's trusteeship ceased, as she married William Starbuck, son of Thomas, grandson of Jethro. And in 1758 Daniel married Judith Worth, daughter of Christopher and granddaughter of Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard, great-granddaughter of Stephen Hussey. Obviously Daniel must have come of age in 1756.

Incidentally, Kezia left an estate, including a house, valued at £3,536 nine shillings and tenpence, the largest part of which consisted of 93 "sheep commons", worth £983 two shillings and sixpence. This figure is interesting, as indicating one sheep commons certificate as worth £10, at least. No wonder the Commons Case in five years time merited attention. Incidentally, in 1757, Paul Starbuck had access to the Boston Courts regarding the inheritance of this complicated estate.

1748 had brought the hooknosed Zachariah Ferris to Nantucket. While in 1749 Ephriam Tibbitts, Paul's first wife's uncle, was on hand with her mother Rose (Austin) Tibbitts, making her 13th visit to the Island. It was incredible how sustained the interest of great-aunt Sarah Austin's family in Dover or in Abington, Pennsylvania proved to be. These two guests probably attended the wedding of her grandson, Samuel Starbuck, who in company with William Rotch was largely responsible for the safety of Nantucket during the American Revolutionary War. In 1750, Mary (Pace) Weston of Philadelphia left an illuminating journal account, in which she observed that Nathaniel Coleman was off visiting in the old country. Benjamin and Lydia (Starbuck) Barney met her at the dock and apparently put her up. (Mary Weston and her party all stayed at their house). Within the year, Dinah Starbuck, Paul's mother would be dead.

Paul could recall the deaths of three grandparents: the great Mary, in 1717, his grandfather, Nathaniel Starbuck, in 1719 and his mother's father non-Quaker James Coffin, in 1720. Then in 1731, a brother Benjamin was lost

at sea, and in 1737, a sister of Priscilla died of a wretched marriage and its consequences. Of course, there was wife Ann who was buried in 1736 and wife Kazia in 1749. And there would be son John in 1755. This son, not yet mentioned was married out-of-Meeting in 1750 (the year Paul's mother died) to a widow, Abigail (Woodbury) Calif, sister of Deacon John Woodbury, one of the leading Congregationalists. After John's death, Abigail married Dr. Benjamin Tupper, physician of note., and the third notable Nantucketer to join Samuel Starbuck and William Rotch in the defense of Nantucket during the troubled years ahead. Tupper was naturally a Congregationalist - but one could say - nearly a brother-in-law to Samuel Starbuck.

It should be observed that Timothy White finished his quarter century pastorate in 1750, having finally opened his Congregational school five years before, and baptized 150 people into his denomination during his quarter century pastorate. White was left with six children, aged one to eighteen. Unfortunately, in 1751, his wife, Susanna (Gardner) White would die. Her parents, however, Sherriff John Gardner 3rd and Priscilla (Coffin) Gardner, of the Sunset Hill family were still alive, as were a number of her brothers and sisters on the Island. Years later, one of Parson White's sons would marry a daughter of minister David Gardner - but that is another tale. The town was growing rapidly by 1750 - so much so - that Silvanus Hussey, Abishai Folger and Richard Coffin (all good Quakers) were asked to procure a fire engine.

The visitor of note in 1751 was Jonah Thompson of Cumberland, possibly kin of the first British Quaker visitor of that patronimic. In any case, as a member of Sherburne Monthly Meeting in England, he came to visit a Sherburne in America - for so Nantucket was known in the 18th century. Benjamin Buffington of Swansea was the next visitor in 1752. He would die of over-exertion at a house-raising in 1760 - almost one might say a spin off casualty of the famous Commons Case. Then in 1753, Paul's father died, leaving the "crown prince" all but three acres of Edward Starbuck's original grant of land as well as half Neck in Edgartown.

LEAH PADDACK OR HOW WAR AND WHALING LED TO THE FIRST NANTUCKET COLONY IN NOVA SCOTIA

Leah (Folger) Gardner-Paddack, 1701-?, was a granddaughter of Eleizer Folger, the first schoolmaster on Nantucket. Her father, Nathan Folger, had married Sarah Church, of a family descended from Mayflower Pilgrims. They were not drawn into the Meeting, though each had one sister who was. Nathan and Sarah were not anti-Quaker in any sense, however, so that four of their six children did join Meeting. The eldest, Abishai, was the one to marry Sarah Mayhew, Paine's daughter. In 1735, when he married in Meeting a second time, he joined. Leah was Abishai's next sibling and like her brother, it took a second marriage to make her into a Quaker. Her first husband, Richard Gardner 3rd, died soon after their marriage, leaving her with a daughter Ruth who never had any interest in Friends. In 1727 Leah remarried under the care of Sandwich Monthly Meeting in Yarmouth, choosing Seth Paddack, grandson of Zacchary Paddack, whose brother Ichabod Paddack introduced shore whaling on Nantucket in 1690. Seth was son of Joseph Paddack, who had married Sarah Gardner, granddaughter of the original Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner in 1696 (two years before any visiting Quaker reached Nantucket). Seth had a brother, Eliphalet, married into Nantucket Meeting and a sister, Margaret, similarly situated. But the Margaret of the marriage couple of 1727 elected to live on the Cape.

This they did until the 1740's when they moved to Nantucket. Very possibly they had children - at least one son Seth Paddack Jr., moved back with them. Somehow he was never recorded a member of Nantucket Meeting. In fact, he married out in 1758, choosing one Thankful Daggett of Vineyard ancestry. Already in 1741, Leah's daughter Ruth Gardner had married Jonathan Worth, a nominal member, out-of-Meeting. Jonathan was son of Minister Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard. Possibly the children had had enough of "weighty" Friends, for that description exactly fits Leah (Folger) Gardner-Paddack.

But to return to Leah's siblings: Timothy and Peter stayed out of Meeting. Timothy married Anna Chase of a Vineyard family; and Peter Christian Swain, who after Peter's death in 1762, married again and into the Meeting - in fact becoming an active Committee Friend. The fifth and sixth in the family did join. First there was Barzillai Folger who married Phoebe Coleman in 1730 in Meeting, she being daughter of John and Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman. And finally there was Judith Folger who wed Thomas Jenkins (son of Matthew) out-of-Meeting in 1728, but joined with him in membership in 1735. So in point of fact, Leah was the last of the four Quakers in her family to come into the Nantucket Meeting, Timothy, one of the non-Quakers, would die in 1750. Peter the other, died in 1762. Two years later, Leah and Seth emigrated. Judith passed on in 1765. Thus only Abishai and Barzillai carried on, though Timothy and Peter may have left non-Quaker children (bearing the Folger name.)

The gambrel roofed house at 32 West Chester Street, which Richard 3rd build for Leah in 1723, still stands; originally inherited by their daughter Ruth.

Did Leah inherit a life right in it, and so possibly lived there from 1740 to 1764? In any case, from 1744 to 1764 she councilled 63 young women about to marry under the care of the Nantucket Monthly Meeting. In 1751, 1754 and in 1758 nine sets each of young people passed under her scrutiny. But if that was all that Leah did, she would hardly deserve a chapter in this work.

It was in fact, that she became mentor to the first consciously planned Nantucket Colony in Barrington Township in the Province of Nova Scotia which puts her in an entirely different category than most women elders on Nantucket. But before Nantucket could envisage dividing amoeba-like, conditions in the outside world had to improve. There was aslmost continuous warfare between Britain and Spain or France from 1739 to 1763. This is the place to note its effect on Nantucket Quakerism before turning to the Barrington Experiment.

At General Meeting time in 1739, John Kinsey who was responsible for keeping Pennsylvania from taking military measures, and had been on Nantucket in the early years, reported that Newport was busy equipping Privateers as the War of Jenkins Ear had broken. In 1740 Benjamin Coffin was paid ten shillings to engrave and distribute copies of the Pennsylvania Law regarding Affirmations, which no doubt Kinsey had had sent. In 1743 the town defeated a motion to fortify the Island as the French were now at war with Britain. Still it was agreed that non-Quakers could form a voluntary military company. These were the generally unsettling concerns occupying the Island when Leah and Seth Paddock moved over from Yarmouth. It was also during this period that Sarah (Folger) Odar, Leah's Aunt, a widow, had come into the Meeting. As she proved to be destitute, the Meeting gave her 20 shillings a week. Jethro Folger and Elihu Coleman were asked to talk with Caleb Stratton to see if he could not do more for his mother-in-law. She died in 1741. Possibly Leah and Seth returned to look after this Aunt.

As far as Nantucket as a whaling port was concerned, there were 50 sail registered on the Island - tonnage running 40 to 50 tons per sloop. By 1738 the Straits of Belle Isle between Newfoundland and Labrador had been reached and try works were being installed on the sloops themselves. By 1744, a barrel of oil netted £14.8.od and the gross take was estimated at £20,000.0.0. A number of whaling sloops were lost, though it is difficult to be sure that they went down because of privateer troubles. In 1739, Thomas Howes 3rd was lost at sea aged 38. Husband of Abigail (Starbuck) Howes, step-son of Joseph Marshall (then Monthly Meeting clerk), son-in-law of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. (ex-clerk), half-brother of the school teacher Joseph Marshall Jr. (future clerk of Monthly Meeting). There were two children. And Thomas 's mother, Abigail (Hussey) Howes-Marshall was still living - remembering how her first husband was drowned on their honeymoon.

Then in 1740, Captain George Bunker, aged 42, son of Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker-Clark, (a nephew of Dinah Starbuck), who had married two years before under the care of the Meeting, was lost. He had wed Abigail Worth, daughter of Elder Joseph. She would remarry the next year. He left a small daughter. Probably lost on the same sloop was Elisha Folger, aged 19, son of the Captain Daniel, who perished similarly four years later. He was grandson of Judith Wilcox, Elisha's mother, Abigail (Folger) Folger was a daughter of the John Folger born in Edgartown when his father was Minister there. Three others

were probably on this unfortunate voyage. One was George Newbegin, aged 30 whose widow became a charge to the Meeting before she emigrated with four of their five children. The other was William Stratton, aged 60 (not a member) whose widow, Susannah (Cartwright) Stratton joined Meeting about 1730, as did four of their six children. Finally, there was Samuel Stanton aged 25, a Member since 1733, when he married, Sarah Coffin, daughter of Miller Samuel. He left three young children. Naturally Sarah married again. Usually whaling sloops carried a complement of five or six Englishmen and as many Algonquins.

In 1742, George Macy, son of Jabez, perished at sea, as has already been noticed. He may well have gone down on Captain Tristram Gardner's sloop. Tristram, aged 31, son of Captain Ebenezer Gardner, grandson of Minister Nathaniel , was a purely nominal Friend. In 1735 he had married-out, choosing Deborah Coffin, a daughter of Enoch of the Vineyard. Also lost, presumably on the same voyage, was Nathaniel Barnard 3rd, aged 27, bachelor son of Judith Wilcox. And finally, there was Obed Bunker, aged 29 who had married a Quaker, Mary (Duane) Bunker, off-Island in 1738. Obed's uncle was Jabez Bunker. His mother , Deborah (Paddack) Bunker-Folger, was an active Elder in the Meeting. Obed left three children. Naturally his widow re-married - as it happened out-of-Meeting so the family slipped away from Friends.

The loss of Captain Daniel Folger's sloop in 1744 was particularly tragic as his son Peter had appeared in Meeting to propose marriage to Lydia Pinkham, hitherto non-Quaker daughter of Jonathan, on the eve of sailing. Naturally, he was never heard of again. Captain Daniel left a widow and six other children. His widow remarried in four years time. It took these four years to probate Daniel's estate. He left £1,521. 16. od a fair fortune, including a slave!, a quarter of a windmill, a hay crop, a cow, a heifer, a high boy, a clock and a silver tankard.

Joseph Rotch lost a whaling sloop to a French privateer in 1744 just outside Boston Harbor. He may well have had to ransom it back. In fact, in 1742 Caleb Macy, son of Richard, an enterprising man, developed an insurance agency to help safeguard whalers from such losses. At the time, a deflationary spiral regarding prices of whale oil was evident. In 1742 oil brought £18. 13. Od per barrel. In 1744 the figure stood at £14. 8. Od per barrel, and in 1745 the price was £10.0.0. a barrel.

In 1745 the London Yearly Meeting epistle condemning privateering, even travelling in boats equipped with letters of "marque and reprisal" were condemned, and "spread" in the minutes. Apparently, Nantucket was clear of this practise. In 1746 one Nantucket sloop was captured by the French, turned over to the Spanish, and ransomed by some Philadelphia Quaker merchants - who no doubt re-couped their losses. In 1747, Peter Bunker's sloop had to be ransomed for some 800 Spanish thalers off the Carolina Capes. Peter was Jabez' son.

Even with the difficulties presented in 1748, the whaling fleet had been augmented by ten additional sloops with tonnage running rather from 50 to 75 tons, not less. Each sloop carried two whale boats. In fact, there was hardly a whale left within hundreds of miles of the "faraway" Island. The Crown had begin in 1745 to offer a bounty of 40 shillings for every ton of whale oil transmitted to the mother country. But even though this was a dangerous trip, some oil went. Altogether in 1745, 10,000 barrels were shipped, mostly to Boston. In 1746 the first lighthouse on Brant Point was

built. Jabez Bunker and Obed Hussey, Saptain Silvanus' (only non-Quaker son) were given the contract by the town. In 1748 oil had gone back up in price to £14. 0. Od. Altogether, 1,420 and a half tons were got - netting £19,684. Od no mean figure. The prospects of peace with France and Spain gave a fantastic fillip to the Artic whale fishery.

Four other Nantucket Friends were lost during the 1745-1748 period - but probably no single sloop went down. First in 1745, Daniel Coffin, aged 20 son of Selectman Richard, was lost at sea. He was grandson of John and Hope (Gardner) Coffin (non-Friends), great grandson of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner and of Representative James Coffin. Then Abraham Macy, aged 31, was lost off Joseph Rotch's sloop in the Bay of Biscay. Abraham was son of wharfbuilder Richard, married to Anna Worth, daughter of Elder Joseph. He left four children. Very naturally his widow married again, and Joseph Rotch ceased undertaking ocean voyages himself. Finally, Daniel Gorham, aged 38, bachelor son of Shubael and Puella (Hussey) Gorham was lost in 1746. He had spent his youth on Nantucket but had lived some 16 years on the Cape - a member of Sandwich Monthly Meeting (Yarmouth Preparative Meeting.) Finally, in 1748, James Gardner, step-son of Paul Starbuck disappeared, having earlier wed Judith Folger, daughter of the late Captain Daniel Folger (lost in 1744) out-of-Meeting. She would remarry choosing Caleb Macy, the insurance broker, in 1749 in Meeting.

Another death of a sea-captain occurred in 1749 when Timothy Barnard, aged 37 died. He was a son of Benjamin and Elder Judith (Gardner) Barnard grandson of Minister Nathaniel Gardner, nephew of Judith Wilcox's second husband. He left a widow, Mary (Bunker) Barnard, born into a Puritan family (but brought over into Meeting) and six children. Mary would die in 1750, so that the Court took over the estate, valued at £1, 513. five and a half shillings, the major portion being two-thirds ownership of a dwelling house valued at £466. 13. 4d and a cow commons worth £300, 000d. Most of the children were assigned guardians.

In 1749, the founding of Halifax as an anchor for the British Empire signalled peace - but by 1752, hostilities had started again on the Pennsylvania frontier. By 1756 it was clear that the showdown over Empire had come upon the American scene. Already by 1750 Joseph Rotch had come to rely upon the Jewish Lopez brothers of Newport, who boasted twenty capital ships, in a total of 500 sail putting out from that mercantile metropolis. In that year, Benjamin Gibbs started his "chandlery" in Newport.

Then in 1751 the first listings (albeit incomplete) of Nantucket sailings were made. Captain Benjamin Barnard, aged 23, son of Elder Matthew and Minister Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard, carried out four short trips in that summer of 1751, the longest of a month's duration. Crews consisted of eight Englishmen and half as many Algonquins. Captain Silvanus Hussey, now a whaling merchant, entered into commercial relationship with Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, selling him 7,000 gallons of oil. This connection would eventually prove embarrassing when twenty years later Trumbull accused Nantucket of being pro-Tory.

In 1751, Peter Clark, aged 43, step-son of Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker-Clark, died at sea, survived by his wife, Ruth (Barnard) Clark, and six children. He was, in fact, a first cousin of Leah Paddack, his mother, Mary (Church) Clark, having been a Quaker sister to Sarah (Church) Folger. Peter's wife was sister to Captain Timothy Barnard, lost in 1749. Peter had become a Quaker in 1735 by marrying in.

It was during the year 1750-1751 that women Friends decided on a thorough going visit to all Quaker households. Perhaps naturally Leah Paddack was named Chairman of the Visiting Committee. To help her were named Mehitable (Gardner) Pollard, Women's Treasurer, Jemima (Barnard) Coleman, Minister Elihu's wife, and Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey, Women's Clerk. They were encouraged in this activity by a group of visiting women Friends - perhaps the most outstanding being Rebecca (Owen) Harvey of Darby Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, whose father Dr. Griffith Owen, was an early Nantucket visitor. He had also been William Penn's personal physician, as we have already noticed. Incidentally, the conversion of the last of Penn's sons to the Anglican faith in 1751, followed a pattern set a generation earlier by the Lords Baltimore of Maryland, who in their case, gave up Roman Catholicism, for the Anglican Church.

The first whaling log book dates from 1751, kept by 18 year old Peleg Folger, son of Eleizer Jr. and Mary (Marshall) Folger, grandson of the late Clerk Joseph Marshall. Peleg and his parents were, however, not members of Meeting, though the first log keeper would join Meeting in another 15 years, and become (in the Folger literary tradition) a great clerk of Nantucket Monthly Meeting during, it must be pointed out, the years of the American Revolution. Peleg's first log entry is typical of his family tradition - a Latin quotation. Peleg, after his death was remembered "as an eminent man, a poet and a bachelor." He was also a school teacher of merit. He sailed on the Grampus, Captain Benjamin Bunker, master, aged 30, son of the late Jabez, for his first voyage in 1751, and on the Phoebe for his second, under Captain Rueben Folger, aged 29, son of Jonathan Folger, grandson of John of Edgartown, and also grandson of Minister Nathaniel Gardner. On this two months trip to Newfoundland, they ran across Captain Christopher Coffin, aged 30, son of Selectman Richard, and had a good mid-Ocean talk, or "gam" as Nantucketeers called it between the crews of the Phoebe and the Sunflower. In another year, Christopher had a whale boat "stove" in and in four years time his ship went down and he was lost. The high seas appeared to be crowded with Nantucket men who carried on domestic conversation much as the women folk did at home. Not only that, but for a brief moment between the war of Jenkins Ear and of the Seven Years War, the mists which obscured Nantucket were drawn for a moment aside. Unfortunately, Peleg's associates regarded him as an eccentric. Other logs we have come from later generations. In fact, Peleg had a lot more to say than is cited here, but that should be saved for the moment when his life is under scrutiny.

Meanwhile, Joseph Rotch had foiled an attempt on the part of Obadiah Brown of Newport, later founder of Brown University, to join with Martin Lopez and Benjamin Crabb of Rehoboth (who had started a Spermaceti candle factory in 1749) to establish a monopoly of this superior method of lighting 18th century homes. Actually Collins and Riverva had joined the others to form the Union Company of Spermaceti Chandlers in 1753. Nathaniel Starbuck was hardly dead. And so it was in 1754 that the town agreed that the proprietory fence about the town be joined to that isolating Brant Point and the lighthouse. Surely this may be taken symbolically as having joined sheep raising and whaling interests. At the

same time, town and proprietory interests were completely sundered.

In 1753 William Macy, aged 25, son of the late Select Clerk, John Macy, was lost at sea. He had married Mary Barney in 1746, sister of the wives of Samuel Starbuck and William Rotch. He left two children only. And Mary (Barney) Macy never remarried. Had he lived, William Macy would, no doubt, have played an important role during the Revolutionary War period. As it was, his children were obviously part of an aristocracy which Nantucket was quick to deny ever existed.

By 1754, Nantucket was fast becoming an urban center. Two new oil companies appeared: Folger and Gardner, which collected oil from independent whalers for resale, and Barnard and Co., which established a regular outlet in London. On the Island, settlements appeared at Sankaty and Quidnet, as well as at Madaket, Capaum and Sconset. These were tending to be used as summer homes for the more affluent sort. And in 1754, John Beard was sued by Edgartonians for alleged robbery of goods left at a landing stage in Nova Scotia. It was against this background that the famous Commons Case broke. This was also the year that General Braddock was killed for refusing to heed George Washington's advice on the Pennsylvanian frontier.

Despite the efforts of Joshua Dixon, a powerful Friends' minister, who appeared in America and on Nantucket in the interests of establishing peace with the French, the situation worsened and war came fully in 1756. On Nantucket, 33 deportees - French from Acadia arrived, as evidence that they were not trusted in the English province of Nova Scotia. This was probably the first time Catholic mass was said on the Island. At this point, Friends were easy in complying with the Crown in caring for the refugees. Eventually, they made their way to Philadelphia and then to New Orleans to form part of the "Cajun" group there.

Within two weeks of the declaration of war, two whaling sloops were taken off the Grand Banks (1756). One was ransomed. A special committee was named by the Meeting to face the emergency, Chaired by Silvanus Hussey, the Clerk. To assist him, Jethro Folger, head of Meeting, and Benjamin Barney, Treasurer, were named. In a sense, the Inner Quaker bureaucracy was put on a war footing.

CONTINUATION OF CHAPTER FIFTEEN

LEAH PADDACK

And with good reason, for the Congregationalists were sufficiently well organized to try to enforce the war tax laws passed by the Boston Legislature. Altogether, 80 English vessels were lost before the year was out - 71 of those were carrying oil. The loss to the Island ran to £27,000d So great was the burden, that Governor Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island set up an insurance company in Newport to cover the risks of his fellow Quakers there. Obviously they had invested in Nantucket whaling. In the pages of the Providence Gazette, Hopkins had advocated the merging of all the British colonies into a super-colony in 1755 - after Benjamin Franklin's plan of union had met with very limited response. It should be pointed out that Representative Abishai Folger, Leah Paddack's brother, had abstained from voting when their cousin Benjamin's proposition came before the Boston Legislature.

The losses in terms of personnel to Nantucket were quite staggering. Captain Christopher Coffin, then only 35, still a bachelor, was only one captain to be lost. Here again, the details will be treated in another chapter. Not only this, but other British Colonial governments began to take Quaker property and to impress young Quakers into their militias: as retribution for refusing to abandon the traditional Quaker peace testimony. In order to protect young whalers from impressment, the Meeting began to issue formal statements to certify the scruples of the young men involved. The first three written were for the three sons of banker Benjamin Coffin: William, Benjamin Jr., and Micajah. Such a consideration led to the formation of a Committee to determine who was eligible for pacifist certificates. Jethro Folger was chairman of this Committee. With David Gardner, William Clasby, Barnabas Gardner and Benjamin Gardner, they agreed to recommend that anyone who attended Monthly Meeting in the summer of 1753, three and a half years earlier, qualified. All others then must apply for membership. This ruling the Meeting accepted.

Newport Meeting now proposed a new Query (these were in process of revision) asking for data on Friends who voted for a militia, or had gone to train for military action, or had paid the General War Tax. This proposition met with such opposition on Nantucket that no Minutes could be drawn about it. Samuel Fothergill, who had visited the Island the year before had observed in his Journal that many Friends had joined Nantucket Meeting to avoid, and, by implication, only to avoid, paying taxes toward the salary of a Congregational clergyman. Peter Davis of Westerly had presented the proposition made by Rhode Island Monthly Meeting.

Dartmouth Monthly Meeting lost £578. 18. 4d in tax distraints in 1756. Nantucket was soon to have its own small loss. In 1757 the distraints on the Island ran to £20. 2. 5d and in 1758 to £1. 12. 4d (total £21. 14. 9d), a trifle compared to the figure recorded in the bailiwick of Jonathan and Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey. Dartmouth lost 27 times as much in fact, as the memberships were comparable; but as Nantucketers were perhaps twice as rich - the ratio stood nearer 50 to 1 than anything else. In 1762 Abishai Folger asked the Massachusetts General Court for compensation for tax loss. Did any relief forthcome? No record so appears on Nantucket. Nantucket Town

opposed the War Tax in 1756, sending Jonathan Coffin, a leading Congregationalist to urge Boston to set aside the "Great and Heavy Tax". George Gardner, husband of Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner, also Congregationalists, observed that Boston had extracted four times as much from Nantucket as from Martha's Vineyard. In fact the growth of Presbyterianism was so noticable in Massachusetts that the old Puritans had other things to think about than to plan to persecute Quakers. In 1758 "Sundry Friends" at Spring Quarterly Meeting learned that the complete exemption for Quakers had been agreed upon by the Boston Legislature and on the high seas after 1758, as the British Navy had secured the upper hand, so things looked up.

It was during this time that the first beautifully decorated and illustrated navigation books appeared on the Island, complete with charts of shoals, pennants of nations, and sails of sloops catalogued. Not only these appeared, but legal forms for executing mercantile transactions were included. The most sophisticated of these was executed by Deacon George Gardner in collaboration with another Congregationalist Major Josiah Coffin. Why the minority church should have taken a lead in this matter probably had to do with their dominating the court structure of Nantucket County. Also the legal approach was congenial to the Puritan mind in any case. For instance, from 1747 to 1767, Grafton Gardner, Deacon George's son, acted as Probate Court Judge on Nantucket.

One of the consequences of the War Tax was the issuance of licences to sell various goods. For instance, John Coffin, son of Miller Samuel, got a liquor licence in the Spring of 1755. That Autumn, Nathaniel Macy (son of Treasurer Thomas), Abishai Folger, and William Hussey got permission to sell liquor in their shops. Peleg Gardner, (who was temporarily disowned) got the right to install a bar at his blacksmith shop. Even the clerk Silvanus Hussey got a liquor licence in 1757.

As early as 1755, both Joseph Rotch and Benjamin Barney got licences to sell chinaware. Surely the Nantucket whalers venturing into the South Atlantic, had not crossed the Pacific Ocean! Nonetheless, there were nine importers of foreign goods on Nantucket by 1756. Minister Richard Mitchell got in on a three-way tea-coffee-chinaware licence in 1755, soon to be followed by William Rotch, John Coffin and Ruth Coffin (probably wife to Selectman Richard). Abishai Folger extended himself to china goods in 1756, as did Obed Hussey and his nominal Quaker brother, Christopher Hussey. Even Silvanus Hussey went in for chinaware in 1757, as did two non-Quakers Barnabus Pinkham and Priscilla Gardner (wife of Elisha). James Brown, nominal young Friend followed suit. The town records bear out the development of expanding bonanza.

In the Summer of 1758, the original lighthouse on Brant Point burned. Abishai Folger, Richard Mitchell and Zaccheus Macy, (son of Richard, and bone-setter extraordinary) were asked by the town to produce another.

The fall of Quebec to General Wolfe in 1759 and the surrender of the French at Montreal in 1760, spelled out the end of the fear of France. On Nantucket this latter date was matched by the creation of the Women's Preparative Meeting - only 37 years after the men! Also a police force was established by the town to patrol the dock area particularly. At least eight Friends were so appointed: Paul Bunker (brother of the disowned Samuel), Samuel Ray (of the family of Coopers on Rays Court), Nathaniel Macy, Christopher Hussey, Elisha Coffin (son of Congregationalist Nathan but also grandson of

Elizabeth Clark), Shubael Pinkham Sr., and Peleg Bunker (son of the late Jabez). Soon afterwards came the Macy fire, and the building of the South Wharf which was completed in 1762. But in 1760, the principal work of the police was to evict seven "newcomer" families, who were deported in 1761. Even some Coffin cousins from Newbury met a similar fate in 1762.

That year the town procured its second fire engine after Peter Barnard's dwelling had gone up in flames. He was son, it will be recalled, of Judith Wilcox (who died in 1760) turning over the timing of the women's meeting to Susannah (Gorham) Paddack-Folger, aged 54, born on the Cape, but granddaughter to both Mary Starbuck and Sarah Gardner. Incidentally, Judith Wilcox's was the first distaff estate to be probated. Nearly everything went to son John Wilcox, though Peter got her bible and skillet.

That Autumn Quarterly Meeting was exercised over the rightfulness of Friends removing to Nova Scotia, in response to a general invitation made by the Governor there in 1759 or in early 1760. Joseph Worth, Elder, Reuben Folger, son of Jonathan, and Shubael Folger, his uncle, had become agents in this migration scheme, along with Amos Knowles a non-Friend of Barnstable on the Cape. They found some 48 families interested in migrating to Barrington Township: 35 of these from Nantucket. The matter was then referred to Yearly Meeting.

Not 'till 1761 did the settlers go - a dozen families from Chatham and a dozen from Nantucket, joined soon by some few from Plymouth, also went. The Nantucket constituency consisted of 65 adults of whom 52 were members of Meeting - about as many as when Nantucket Monthly Meeting started in 1708. In fact the Quaker group were better organized than the Puritans. An informal Quaker meeting for worship was organized under the care and the vague oversight of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Meetings were held in the shacks belonging to Members, but later moved to the Town House when it was built (in 1763 or 1764). The first Winter was difficult. The only food available were eels, shell fish, and other types of sea food.

Curiously, not 'till two years had passed did the question of Friends moving to Nova Scotia appear on the Monthly Meeting agenda. But in the Autumn of 1762, William Coffin and Robert Barnard (brother-in-lawof Elihu Coleman) were designated with the visitors to get an apology from the Friends who had gone, obviously without consulting the Meeting. In the Spring of 1763, Joseph Worth (who had engineered the migration) got a minute to visit the Meeting there (to regularize things?). And at that time, Silvanus Swain, son of Caleb and Margaret (Paddack) Swain, asked for a Minute to emigrate to Barrington with his family. Jonathan Macy (son of the late John) enquired into his request. But as Silvanus died - possibly he was more ill than he had realized - no Minute was issued.

Joseph Worth had lost his wife (Lydia (Gorham) Worth - Cape-born) in 1763 and so was free to join in the Settlement in which already a number of his sons were involved. Joseph was then 66, a respected Elder of Nantucket Meeting. There was also Reuben Worth, aged 37, his wife, Mary (Allen) Worth, and two children; Joseph Worth Jr., aged 33, his wife, Judith (Starbuck) Worth, and four children: Thomas Worth, aged 26, his wife Deborah (Swain) Worth, and their three children. It is just possible that Shubael Worth, aged 17, Joseph's youngest of twelve children was also along. Certainly Frances Worth, a nephew aged 27, was there, probably with his wife, Mary (Gardner) Worth, and two children. And a great-nephew Jonathan Worth, aged 17, was present - probably as a companion to Shubael.

In another year or so, Richard Worth Jr., then aged 34 (brother of Frances) would join the Colony with his wife Anna (Macy) Worth, and one child.

Shubael Folger, aged 62, co-ordinator and co-organizer (cousin of Benjamin Franklin) and his wife Jerusha (Clark) Folger were resident, as were four of their children. These were Benjamin Folger, aged 31: his wife, Judith (Barnard) Folger and four children: Jemima (Folger) Gardner and her husband; Soloman Gardner, aged 31, and four children: Shubael Folger Jr., aged 24, his wife Lydia (Bunker) Folger, and two children; and Abigail (Folger) Gardner, and her husband; Benjamin Gardner, aged 30 and three children. And there was Reuben Folger, aged 40 (a nephew) with his wife Dinah (Hussey) Folger (she died in 1763 - a victim of hardship?) and six children. Reuben was also a co-organizer of this expedition to Nova Scotia.

Other Gardners included Zaccheus Gardner, aged 40, son of Elder Barnabas; his wife Jemima (Coffin) Gardner, and their seven children: James Gardner Jr., aged 59; and his wife, a Congregationalist, Susannah (Gardner) Gardner, and two of their children. These were Eliphalet Gardner aged 36, and his wife, Anna (Folger) Gardner, and one son; and Mehitable (Gardner) Coleman, and her husband Soloman Coleman Jr., aged 27 and two children. In addition, a son-in-law, by a previous marriage, Elisha Coffin, aged 36, was there with his wife Mary (Gardner) Coffin and five children, James Gardner Jr., had joined Meeting in 1768 which shook the Congregationalists, for he forsook their church. Captain John Gardner the fire-eating anti-Quaker had been his grandfather.

One other Coleman had gone to Barrington, he being John Coleman, aged 30, son of Minister Nathaniel, with his wife, Anna (Davis) Coleman and two sons. Four other Coffin settlers and their families were Congregationalists. The Bunkers, however, contributed some settlers of note. James Bunker, aged 63, son of Elizabeth Clark, was a widower (who had lived in the New York Colony from 1737 to 1749). He had four children with him! These were Matthew Bunker, aged 24, and his wife Bethiah (Coffin) Bunker (whom he married in 1764): Nathaniel Bunker aged 20; William Bunker, aged 17, and Elisha Bunker, aged 15.

Then there was Benjamin Barney Jr., aged 30, his wife, Jemima (Jenkins) Barney, and four children. James Williams was also there aged 32, and his wife, Elizabeth (Upham) Williams, and their two children who were among the first to return; finding the first winter just too grim. Stephen Barnard, aged 23, son of Thomas, was present, with his bride, Hephzibah (Paddack) Barnard, whom he wed in 1762. And finally there was Seth Paddack, her cousin, aged 63, and his wife, Elder, Leah (Folger) Gardner-Paddack, who had left Nantucket to help Joseph Worth with the Quaker or Spiritual side of things in Barrington. They only joined the Colony in 1763.

The Barrington Meeting was thus composed of four elderly members, two middle-aged, and 46 younger members, and in addition fifty children or adolescents. Probably attendance ran about 75 or so at first enough to fill the Town House comfortably. The Congregationalists, who obviously used the same structure, probably numbered about 60 in all - and got 50 of those to church on a good Sunday. Neither community had a minister as such. This settlement has been dealt with in detail as its Quaker group belonged to Nantucket Monthly Meeting.

It was technically an indulged Meeting, its Members expected to submit to the discipline as carried out on the literally now "far away" Island. There Joseph Worth and Leah Paddack were Elders in charge. For her at least the move constituted a definitive change in her life. Neither she nor Seth ever returned permanently to Nantucket. What is even more extraordinary, after the relatively short lived Barrington Meeting broke up. Friends on Nantucket lost track of them. Did they continue to visit the few scattered Friends in Nova Scotia 'till they died in ten or twenty years time? At this point we have no answer.

In the Autumn of 1763 Quarterly Meeting again decided to ask Yearly Meeting what to do about the Friends who were emigrating to "lands formerly improved by the French," for it would for it would seem that the Acadians had told such wonderful tales of their onetime homeland, that Nantucketers were drawn northwards. In some ways the settling of Barrington had recapitulated the founding of Nantucket just a century earlier. The first boy born in 1762 was named Tristram Coffin. His parents were Puritans: John and Mary (Davis) Coffin. The first girl who was born - in 1763 - was Elizabeth Gardner, daughter of non-Quaker parents as well.

There need not have been too much worry. Already a dozen of the 65 adult settlers returned before 1763 was out, sick of endless hardships and little prospect of improvement. James Gardner and wife: Eliphalet his son, wife and child: Mehitable his daughter and her husband Soloman Coleman and two children; Captain Elisha Coffin, his wife and five minor children, made up one disappointed party.

James Williams, wife and two children, as above noted, left, as did Benjamin Barney, his wife and four children, Seth and Leah Paddack returned with them, but not to give up. They collected a further group which went back to Barrington in 1764. Among these were Captain Peleg Bunker, aged 37, son of the late Jabez, his wife Lydia (Worth) Bunker who was daughter of Elder Joseph. With them went five children. They stayed six years, that is 'till 1770 before confessing defeat and returning. With them went a cousin, Simeon Bunker Jr., aged 17, step-son of Benjamin Barney Sr., who lasted another four years until 1774 to return and then be disowned. And Simeon Gardner, aged 36, went with his wife, Sarah (Long) Gardner, and their six children. Simeon was son of Elder Jonathan. Another Gardner to emigrate was Soloman Jr., aged 53 who went with his wife, Mary (Pollard) Gardner, and three children. Soloman, however, died within the year, and his widow returned to Nantucket in 1765 with her two younger children. Then there was as before noted, Richard Worth Jr., aged 34, brother of Reuben, and his wife Anna (Macy) Worth, with one minor son. In 1765, five non-Quaker settlers returned. Two non-Quakers had gone in the 1764 lot.

Yearly Meeting in 1764 ruled that emigrants to Barrington should procure Minutes. But the regulation appeared to be a dead letter. After the 1764 contingent arrived, the householders, who desired land in fee simple, were granted them. A town meeting was then formed with Jonathan Pinkham, non-Friend, as moderator, and James Bunker as Town Clerk. Shubael Folger was thereupon confirmed as Clerk of the Propriotory of Common and Undivided Lands of Barrington Township. Again Nantucket relived its own history even to the extent of refusing to recognize the authority of Governor Carr, when in the Autumn of 1764 he refused to confirm the grants in fee simple to nine patentees. Four of these were Friends: Joseph Worth Jr., Thomas Worth, Zaccheus Gardner and Simeon Gardner.

In 1767 the Barrington Meeting underwent a sharp decline, though by that time there were 376 resident inhabitants, (all but 11 coming from New England,) The rapid increase of people from 1765 to 1767 was among the Puritans. A Congregationalist minister was employed. Seven Nantucket families emigrated (with others) to the west side of Cape Sable. The tensions between the mother country and the Colonies now had their repercussions for New England Settlers in a very Royalist colony. Between 1767 and 1769 most who had not already given up now returned. Soloman Gardner 3rd, was among those who did not. He was only 11 when his father died. Somehow he begged his mother to allow him to remain in Nova Scotia. In 1773 he was disowned and in 1777 returned to marry Miriam Worth, a great-niece of Joseph Worth Sr., out-of-Meeting. They apparently returned to Nova Scotia. No news of their deaths ever came back to Nantucket. In 1775 Mary (Pollard) Gardner-Swain (as she had become), Soloman's mother, emigrated from Nantucket with her younger daughter to the Cape and in 1778, the older daughter having seen her brother marry, also emigrated. In this case, Mary's mother had kin on the Bass river which explains, more than anything, the lack of staying-power on the Island.

Joseph Worth Sr. seems to have quit Barrington as early as 1766. Reuben and Mary Worth probably left with him, bringing back with them another child, a daughter, born in Nova Scotia. They settled down happily on Nantucket - but Mary's people had money which probably helped keep them in the Island. Shubael Worth probably returned with them. Three years later in 1769 he married Bethiah Jenkins, daughter of Thomas, out-of-Meeting, and was disowned in 1774 and emigrated to Hudson, New York.

As for the brothers Richard Worth Jr., and Francis Worth, they brought their respective wives Anna and Mary and families back by 1770. Richard and Anna had one daughter born to them in Barrington but they found it difficult to go back to Nantucket life on the Island. Francis took his family off to North Carolina at the first possible moment in 1771, starting a dynasty there giving to that State a series of outstanding political figures. Richard Jr. moved to New York State with his family in 1779, when life on Nantucket was indeed grim. But in 1789 at Anna's death, Richard brought his son and daughter back to the Island. Richard 3rd had already married in 1777 in the Meeting. Eventually they moved away again. But it must be borne in mind that Richard Jr., and Francis's mother, Sarah (Hoag) Worth, later Meade, was born on the North Shore and after their father's death, moved back there. She was a Minister of note.

It would seem that Joseph and Judith Worth Jr., sold out in 1771 to return with their four children to Nantucket, but for only three years when they moved on to North Carolina. Thomas Worth joined them in this action for his wife Deborah died in 1771, and the widower and the three children were unsettled. Thomas married a widow, Judith (Swain) Barnard, daughter of Caleb in 1772 and in 1775 this household took off for New Garden in Piedmont, North Carolina. Jonathan Worth, their cousin once removed, returned only in 1777, having married Mary Edwards (of unknown parentage) in 1770 in Barrington. For this he was disowned when it was discovered. Apparently he had come back to attend the marriage, out-of-Meeting, of his sister Miriam to Soloman Gardner 3rd. Eventually he removed to Long Island.

Shubael and Jerusha Folger apparently quit Nova Scotia in 1767 when Benjamin Folger succeeded his father as Clerk of the Propriatory there. The older folks settled down without too much difficulty on Nantucket. In 1772

Benjamin Folger also decided the odds were too great and so went home with six children - two born in Barrington. Whatever had happened, this family was turned against Meeting - all four who married, married out. Shubael Folger Jr., may have continued to live on Nova Scotia until his death in 1774. He was "carried down with a line" whaling. His widow brought her five children back to Nantucket, (three born in Barrington.) But they like their cousins had lost touch with Quaker values. Lydia was disowned and at least her three elder children. It would seem that Reuben Folger, cousin of Shubael Jr., returned in 1765 with his five children to marry Mary (Ramsdell) Pinkham, hitherto non-Quaker widow. His eldest daughter married the next year also in Meeting. She and her older brother emigrated to North Carolina in 1773, followed eleven years later by her next oldest sister. The other two children were disowned, but by 1780 this was a fashionable thing to have happened to you.

Zaccheus Gardner was one who moved to Cape Sable and stayed in Nova Scotia. Jemima stayed a Friend, but Zaccheus was put out in 1783. Already three of his children had met this same fate and another would soon follow. It would seem that the Meeting simply lost track of the other four. One was born in Barrington. Another Quaker who stayed was Soloman Gardner, son-in-law of Shubael Folger, Sr., - possibly in Barrington itself. He was, however, disowned in 1778, but not Jemima, his wife. At least three of his children were also disowned. The Meeting seemed to lose track of five others. Two married outside Meeting on Nantucket (or to Nantucketers). One married in France. The experience of these two families made the concern of New England Yearly Meeting for the scattering of membership worth a second thought.

Benjamin and Abigail Gardner apparently came back in 1772 accompanying her brother Benjamin Folger and family with six children (four born on Nova Scotia), With their departure the Barrington Meeting closed down, having lasted out its decade. Abigail was its last pillar. She had developed a strong sense of independence and would contest (albeit in vain) the right of Nantucket Meeting to disown her in 1783. She was then a widow with at least one child disowned. Two others followed, and three quietly left Nantucket. The Meeting lost track of them too. Simeon Gardner and his wife Sarah moved from Barrington, possibly about 1772 to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, with seven children, one born in the Province. In that year their eldest daughter married Reuben Worth Jr., in Meeting - probably in Nova Scotia. The next four were disowned, and the youngest was lost track of. Simeon himself was put out in 1778.

John Coleman and Anna appear to have left the Northern Province about 1772 with their two sons. Both of these were disowned eventually. John had then left with his father, Minister Nathaniel Coleman in 1776 and was disowned in 1780 for refusing to deliver his transfer! In any case, Minister Nathaniel's other two children and his wife had died in the 1756-1763 period. His family had turned out pretty disappointing: especially as his daughter's children were all disowned as well, except one lost at sea.

James Bunker stayed until he was lost at sea in 1772. Matthew and Bethiah Bunker and their one sone then returned to Nantucket to continue as active members! Nathaniel and Elisha, however, elected to remain in Nova Scotia and the Meeting lost track of them. William, who married a Congregationalist, out-of-Meeting in Nantucket itself in 1771, was disowned. Stephen Barnard was apparently drowned when James Bunker was lost at sea in 1772. His widow, Hephzibah returned to Nantucket with the two children born in Barrington, but then she married a man probably from Nova Scotia out-of-Meeting and was disowned. As was her younger daughter who married - also out-of-Meeting.

There were still a few scattered old Barrington members, in 1786.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

LEAH PADDACK (CONCLUDED) (1-41)

in 1786, when the second and more durable Nantucket Quaker Colony was established at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. None, it would seem, of the earlier Meeting, became members of the later Meeting. The following statistics for membership in the Barrington Meeting are probably nearly correct. There were always again as many children if not more.

1763	-	52	1768	-	40
1764	-	48	1769	-	40
1765	-	46	1770	-	32
1766	-	42	1771	-	28
1767	-	40	1772	-	23

Attendance thus ran at first from 50 to 75, at the end from 25 to 35, By 1782 there were only 6 adult members in the Province (that is if Leah and Seth Paddack were still living). She would then have been aged 81, and he aged 83.

DAVID GARDNER OR HOW THE LEADING MEMBER OF THE GARDNER FAMILY OVER-STEPPED HIS AMBITION

David Gardner, 1708-1798, lived a full vigorous 90 years but only 42 of them as a Quaker, however. He came "a-cropper", as did Stephen Hussey, for he valued property above the Quaker discipline. David began an auspicious career in the Meeting in 1743 as a Committee Friend and Minister - for a quarter century in which he undertook no less than 73 assignments. At one point it seemed he would inherit the mantle of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. - but no - he was finally disowned in 1775 after six years of dealing.

In scrutinizing David Gardner's career it is well to give a bit of orientation regarding the Gardner family which after the Coffin family, was the most prolific on the Island. There were two founding Gardners: Captain John, and Captain Richard (brothers). John arrived in the 1670's with his strongly Puritan wife, Priscilla (Grafton) Gardner, and ten children (seven of whom became members of the Congregational Church when it was formed). Captain John was the protagonist against Tristram Coffin in the half shares men's revolution in the 1670's, and his successor as anti-Quaker chief magistrate down to 1696. Thomas Story gives adequate space to the old fire-eater in his Journal account in 1704. He died two years later and Priscilla lived on until 1717 when Mary Starbuck, her opposite, also died. By that time the Congregationalists were attempting some kind of organization on the Island. Possibly Priscilla and her children acted to insure this. She must have been thought of as the mid-wife of the established church on the Island.

Captain Richard had (though younger) preceded Captain John on the Island by a decade. He was a more commercial type, starting the schooner service which linked Nantucket to the mainland. He had married Sarah Shattuck, sister of Captain Samuel Shattuck, who carried King Charles 2nd's missive, stopping the hanging of Quakers on Boston Common. Sarah was, however, unable to bring Richard into Meeting. Rather she contented herself with raising nine children on the Island - only one of whom eventually affirmed his mother's religious approach. Thus the two couples produced three unchurched children, seven Congregationalists and one Quaker. It was only in the grandchildren and great grandchildren that Mary Starbuck's initiative took root - particularly among Sarah's descendents. Among them was to be found David Gardner. (Incidentally, at this point Richard and Sarah's descendents only require attention).

Captain Richard's elsdest son, Joseph (1632-1701), married Bethiah Macy, daughter of the original Thomas Macy. They had six daughters. Three of these joined Friends. The eldest, Sarah, was Seth Paddack's mother. She belonged to Yarmouth. The second (non-Quaker), Damaris, died in childbirth, before the

first Quaker visitors arrived. The third, Bethiah (named for her mother), was the first wife of Eleizer Folger Jr, (one of whose children joined Meeting). The fourth, (like the second and third non-Quaker) Hope, married John Coffin, a brother of Dinah Starbuck, (two of their children joined Meeting). The fifth, Mary, married Matthew Jenkins (as has already been noted). The sixth, Abiel married William Clasby of Kingwood Monthly Meeting, England in Meeting in 1719. Such was the Joseph line.

Their second son, Richard Jr. (1653-1728)married Mary Austin, daughter of Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin-Varney, who became a nominal Nantucket member in 1708. They had eight children, only one of whom followed her mother and grandmother's religion. The eldest of these, Joseph, married a sister of Dinah Starbuck (one of their children joined Meeting). The second, Soloman married Anna Coffin (daughter of landowner Quaker Stephan Coffin). Anna came into Meeting in 1720. All ten of her children followed suit. David Gardner was the fourth of these! More will be said of this family later. The third, Benjamin, married a daughter of his uncle Captain John. (Two of their children joined Meeting!) The fourth was the Quakeress Miriam, who married Samuel Coffin, son of John of Edgartown, and was with him a founding member of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. The fifth, Peter, married Samuel's sister, but they elected to join the Congregational Church. The sixth, Lydia, married a son of the New Hampshire Chief Justice - a Congregationalist Coffin. The seventh, Richard 3rd, was Leah Paddack's first husband. And the eighth, William, married a daughter of George Gardner (son of Captain John) and Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner, Mary Starbuck's Congregationalist daughter. Such was the Richard Jr. line of which David Gardner was a part.

Richard and Sarah's third son, James Gardner (1664-1723), first married Mary Starbuck's daughter Mary - next Rachel (Gardner) Brown, a daughter of his uncle Captain John - with children, and he had children by his first wife. Then he married Patience Harker, a Congregationalist - but without children - and finally Mary (Coffin) Pinkham, widow (and sister of Dinah Starbuck) - and still no children. All six children by the first marriage joined Meeting. One of the second marriage left the Congregational Church in 1766 (he being James Gardner Jr.) The other remained in the State church. The eldest of James and Mary's children was Elizabeth, who wed Stephen Gorham of Yarmouth Meeting in 1704, where she became a Minister. They were founding members of Nantucket Monthly Meeting withdrawing to the Cape about 1720. Eight of their ten children eventually settled on Nantucket as Members. Two continued so on the Cape. The second, Samuel, married Hephzibah, daughter of Landowner-Quaker Stephen Coffin - but she died directly. He then married Patience Swain, the only Quaker in the original Nantucket Quakers family in Meeting in 1710. They had five Quaker children, the eldest of whom, Mary Gardner, was a Minister and wife of David Gardner! Finally, Samuel married Mary (Swett) Swain, a widow, daughter of Moses Swett, Quaker of Hampton Monthly Meeting (Massachusetts), in Meeting in 1748 - no children. The third, Jethro, married Kezia Folger in Meeting in 1716, daughter of Judith Wilcox, later second wife of Paul Starbuck. Jethro and Kezia had eight Quaker children (one of whom, Peleg Gardner, was disowned in the Commons Case from 1755 to 1761). The fourth, Barnabas, married Mary Wheeler of Boston (presumably by Quaker ceremony there). They had ten Quaker children. The fifth, Jonathan, married Patience Bunker, a daughter of Elizabeth Clark, out of Meeting, but soon joined in. They also had ten Quaker children.

The sixth, Mehitable, a Quaker Minister, wed Philip Pollard (from Bristol, England) in Meeting in 1724. They had three Quaker children. The seventh child (of James and Rachel), James Jr., married a Congregationalist daughter of Quaker Minister Nathaniel Gardner, but left that Faith for Friends in 1758 before his experience at Barrington Township, in Nova Scotia. Five of his seven children joined Meeting. The eighth child (of James and Rachel), Priscilla, married a Congregationalist son of Quaker Minister, Nathaniel Gardner, and raised twelve children in that church. Such was the James line of which David Gardner's wife was a part.

The fourth and last son of Richard and Sarah was the Quaker Minister Nathaniel, 1669-1714, who was a Charter Member in 1708, attended the first Quarterly Meeting to which Nantucket Monthly Meeting sent delegates, visited Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1709 and London Yearly Meeting in 1712. For four years he was Nathaniel Starbuck Jr's most important Meeting associate. He died in England in 1714. Already in 1709his Puritan wife, Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, (Dinah Starbuck's sister) had died. Six of their nine children followed their father's religion: three their mother's. Hannah the eldest, was a founding member, wife of Jabez Bunker. They had eight Quaker children. The second was Captain Ebenezer, who was the first to marry in Nantucket Meeting, in 1709 to Eunice Coffin, granddaughter of Mary Starbuck through her daughter Elizabeth. They had four Quaker children. Eunice then died and Ebenezer married-out, to a non-Quaker, daughter of John Coffin, (brother of Dinah Starbuck). There were nine more children (four of them joined Meeting). The third of Minister Nathaniel and Abigail's children was Peleg, who married a daughter of Captain John Gardner, his great uncle, and had one Congregational son before his early death. The fourth was Judith, who married Benjamin Barnard, Judith Wilcox's brother-in-law in Meeting in 1711. They had eight Quaker children. The fifth was Margaret who wed Jonathan Folger, son of Quaker John of Edgartown in Meeting in 1717 and had five Quaker children. The sixth, Nathaniel Jr., married Mary Folger, daughter of Judith Wilcox in Meeting in 1725. They had two Quaker children before his early death. The seventh, Andrew, married Mary Gorham, daughter of Minister Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham of Yarmouth. They had twelve Quaker children. The eighth Abel, married a Congregationalist, daughter of James Coffin, Jr. (niece of Dinah Starbuck). They raised twelve children in that faith. And the ninth, Susannah, married the James Gardner Jr. (who would join Friends in 1758). As before observed, five of their seven children became Friends. Such was the Nathaniel or the Quaker line in this family.

There were six daughters of Richard and Sarah Gardner next to be traced. Sarah, the eldest (1652-1729) wed Eleizer Folger, schoolteacher, son of Peter. They had five children, only one of whom joined Meeting. First Eleizer Jr. wed Bethiah Gardner, daughter of Joseph, his uncle. The second, Peter, wed Judith Coffin later Wilcox (and a Friend). Third, the Quakeress Sarah, wed Anthony Odar, son of on-comer Nicholas. Fourth, Nathan wed Sarah Church and became parents to Leah Paddack. And fifth, Mary who wed John Arthur Jr. Such was the Sarah line.

The next eldest daughter, Deborah (1658-1696), married John Macy, son of the original Thomas. They had eight children, all of whom became Quakers. First, John Jr. wed Judith Worth, daughter of John and Clerk to the Select Meeting. Second, Sarah wed John Barnard, brother-in-law to Judith Wilcox' first husband. Third, Deborah wed Daniel Russell, an on-comer from Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Fourth, Bethiah wed first Joseph Coffin, a brother to Dinah Starbuck, and then John Renouff, an on-comer. Fifth, Jabez wed Sarah Starbuck, daughter of the first Women's Clerk in Meeting in 1712 - and was disowned from 1761 to 1769. Sixth, Mary wed Soloman Coleman, brother of the first Head of Men's Meeting, in Meeting in 1711. Seventh, Thomas wed Deborah Coffin, daughter of John of Edgartown. And eighth, Richard first wed Deborah Pinkham, daughter of Richard from Dover (niece of Dinah Starbuck), and second in Meeting in 1769 Alice Paddack of Yarmouth, daughter of Joseph, sister-in-law of Leah Paddack. Such was the Deborah line.

The third daughter was Miriam (1666-1702). She married John Worth, son of William, the Quaker, and became mother to Judith Worth, Elder John's wife. In all, there were seven children. The first, Jonathan, wed Mary Hussey, daughter of Stephen. She became a Quaker Minister. Second, Nathaniel wed Jane Lothrop, from off-Island and emigrated. Third came Judith, the Quakeress cited above. Fourth came Richard, who married Sarah Hoag, a Minister from Hampton Monthly Meeting (Massachusetts) in Meeting in 1729. Fifth came William, Quaker, who wed Mary Butler from Edgartown. Sixth came Joseph, Quaker Elder, leader of the Barrington Settlement who wed Lydia Gorham, daughter of Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham, Minister in Yarmouth. And seventh, non-Quaker Mary, who wed Thomas Crosby from off-Island and emigrated. Such was the Miriam line.

The fourth daughter was a twin with Minister Nathaniel, called Hope (1669-1750). They were the first of Captain Richard's family to be born on Nantucket. She wed John Coffin, brother of Dinah Starbuck. They had five children, two of whom became Friends. Richard, the eldest was one such. He married Ruth Bunker, daughter of Elizabeth Clark. Second, Judith, non-Quaker married Ebenezer Gardner, son of Minister Nathaniel, as mentioned above. Third, Elias wed Love Coffin, son of Ebenezer, a leading Congregationalist. (She was a niece to Dinah Starbuck). Fourth, Francis, Quaker, married Theodate Gorham in Yarmouth Meeting, she a daughter of Puella (Hussey) Gorham, granddaughter of Stephen Hussey. And Fifth Abigail wed Zaccheus Folger, son of John of Edgartown. (They were non-Quakers). Such was the Hope line.

The fifth and last daughter of Richard and Sarah Gardner was Love (1672-1691) who wed James Coffin Jr. (as his first wife), brother to Dinah Starbuck. The Love line was a non-starter for she died directly - possibly in childbirth.

It is difficult - if not impossible - to make such an extraordinarily complex genealogical grouping comprehensive and interesting. But it is necessary to realize how far-reaching Sarah Shattuck's descent proved, in order to situate David and Mary (Gardner) Gardner in the family. Is it any wonder that when Sarah Gardner died in 1724, half the white people on the Island were her descendants? Quakers like to think of themselves as a large family. On Nantucket this was almost literally true for most 18th century Members. Sarah Gardner was the Queen-pin in all of this. Such a complicated family arrangement also helps explain Matthew Mayhew's opposition to the formation of Nantucket County in 1695, for such an inter-related outfit of Islanders made it difficult to form a neutral jury.

To look more closely at the household into which David Gardner was born (the year Nantucket Monthly Meeting was started), we discover that the family lived at No. 1 Stone Alley in a house built about 1720, that is before Capaum Harbor was closed. Soloman Gardner, David's father lived until he was aged 80 in 1760 - possibly as an occasional attender at Meeting. David's mother Anna (Coffin) Gardner, despite her father, brother and sisters' membership, only joined Meeting in 1720 or so. She died in 1740, leaving a 20 year widowerhood to Soloman.

In 1722, Elizabeth, David's older sister, married Richard Swain, son of Joseph, grandson of the original Quaker John Swain - out-of-Meeting. In fact, Richard never joined Meeting. But by 1725, Elizabeth accompanied her mother into the Meeting and raised her ten children as Friends. Then in 1729, David's older brother, Reubin, married Love Gardner, daughter of his uncle Joseph, out-of-Meeting. She died childless five years later, Reuben next remarried under the care of Nantucket Meeting in 1735, choosing Theodate (Gorham) Coffin, daughter of Shubael Gorham and Puella (Hussey) Gorham of Yarmouth, then widow of Francis Coffin (himself son of John and Hope (Gardner) Coffin - referred to above). Theodate became an important Committee Friend. To her three children by her first husband, she added four by her second. As for Reuben he would be put out of Meeting in 1773, two years before David, in consequence of property troubles as well,

Meanwhile David had joined Meeting in 1733, the year the Great Meeting House was opened, by marrying Mary Gardner, who was a birthright Friend, daughter of Samuel and Patience (Swain) Gardner, Quakeress, in direct line from John Swain her grandfather. Mary's Quakerism was as solidly based as any on the Island. In time, both husband and wife appeared in the Ministry: a unique situation on the Island. In 1741, she took on care of the Meeting House, sweeping in great swirls the sand that was used to deaden sound in the place of carpets, at least twice a week. David was originally a whaler but once having got a sloop, the PHOENIX in his possession, replaced others in the carrying trade which his great-grandfather had introduced - often transporting visiting Friends to Dartmouth or further.

Also in 1733 David's next younger sister, Sarah, married David Joy in Meeting, he being a widower from Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. They had five children. In 1735 a still younger sister Mary married John Worth, son of Jonathan, under the care of the Meeting. He was son of Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard, daughter in turn of Stephen Hussey. They had ten children - but John Worth would be disowned in 1773 - at the same time as Reuben Gardner. In 1739, David's youngest sister Dinah married David Macy, son of Elder John in Meeting. They had eight children and in 1771 emigrated to North Carolina. In 1742 David's next brother, Stephen, married Jemima Worth, daughter of William, in Meeting. They had nine children and then in 1772 emigrated to North Carolina. Four years later in 1776 the next brother, Richard Gardner, married Sarah Macy, daughter of Elder John, sister of David Macy. They had seven children and emigrated as well in 1771 to North Carolina. The departure of these two brothers and one sister of Minister David, were not unconnected with his disagreement with the Meeting. In 1750, David's next to youngest brother Soloman Jr., wed Mary Pollard, daughter of Philip, Soloman was lost at sea in 1746, leaving three children and having undertaken a part in the Barrington Township experiment. And in 1754 David's last brother, Paul, wed

Rachel Starbuck, daughter of Thomas, granddaughter of the original Women's Clerk. They had seven children.

As for David and Mary, they had nine children whose account will be given directly. Note should be taken here of Mary's sisters and brothers first. In 1734 her next sister Hephzibah married Zaccheus Macy, the bonesetter and original Nantucket historian, son of Elder Richard. They had nine children. Two years later in 1736, Hannah, the second sister, married Paul Bunker, son of Elder Jabez. They had six children. And the third sister, Jemima, married Robert Coffin hitherto non-Quaker son of Peter ("Nope" as he was known) and Hope (Gardner) Coffin (daughter of Joseph) in 1744. They had four children. Finally, Mary's brother Daniel married Provided Allen, daughter of Nathaniel and Provided (Gaskill) Allen in 1747. They had six children. All of these marriages took place under the care of Nantucket Monthly Meeting.

In 1746, Mary's mother died so that her father Samuel Gardner was remarried in 1748 in Meeting to Mary (Swett) Swain - as above indicated. Mary had originally married John Swain 3rd and raised ten children - eight of them electing to come under the care of the Meeting. Four of the eight joined Samuel Gardner's household in 1748. One married in 1750, one in 1752 (not under the care of the Meeting), one in 1756, and one in 1768. Meanwhile step-mother Mary (Swett) Swain-Gardner died in 1751, and Samuel Gardner, Mary's father, died in 1757.

Now for David and Mary Gardner's children - Hephzibah was born in 1734. She never married but lived on in the family home until 1819 aged 85, still a faithful Friend. Hezekiah, the second child - first son - was born in 1737 (and married in 1758) Sarah Folger, daughter of Representative Abishai (by his second wife). Hezekiah was probably among those lost at sea during the French and Indian war in 1760 leaving one son. His widow naturally married again. Anna, the third child was born in 1740 and was wed to Silvanus Gardner in 1763, he being son of Logan from Gardener's Island in the New York Colony. They emigrated with eight of their nine children in 1778. The fourth Dinah, born in 1742, wed Seth Spooner from Dartmouth in 1760. He remained out-of-Meeting. But Dinah brought her four children into Meeting, after his early death in 1768. She did not remarry. The fifth, Hannah, born in 1745, got a Certificate of Removal and wed John White, son of Pastor Timothy White, probably in Boston. Did Salem Monthly Meeting thereupon disown her? She was then a woman of 35 years - marked by the disownment of her father five years before. On the face of it Hannah's marriage was a sort of revenge. The Whites had left town thirty years before. At that time she was then five and John eight. Very possibly it was his second marriage. If the Rev. Timothy was still alive, he would have been aged 80. The sixth, David Jr., who was born in 1750, was married to Zeruah Huntley off-Island, out-of-Meeting in 1778 and was thereupon disowned as was his brother Elijah, born in 1752, who married Helena Huntley, also in 1778. Obviously these were sisters. The eighth Mary, born in 1756 married Nathaniel Ray, son of William and Mary (Clasby) Ray, and emigrated directly. The ninth Ruth, like Hephzibah, her eldest sister, never married, but lived on in the family home until 1846, aged 86, also still a faithful Friend.

In 1750 David Gardner was one of a weighty Committee to prepare the returning minutes for John Sykes of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting and Abraham Farrington of Burlington Monthly Meeting (both in New Jersey.) In this service he sat with Silvanus Hussey, Chairman, Elihu Coleman, Nathaniel Coleman, Benjamin Barney, and Benjamin Coffin. David had "arrived", as it were. He also served with Elihu Coleman, Benjamin Barney and Benjamin Coffin to get up a transfer for Sarah (Hoag) Worth, Minister and widow of Richard, about to move back to Hampton Monthly Meeting. Also in 1750 Captain David transported back to Dartmouth with a stop-over at Tarpaulin Cove on Naushon Island, a whole group of visitors to General Meeting, including Mary (Pace) Weston, 1712-1766, (later Waring) who kept an illuminating Journal: Grace Fishers her companion who was from Philadelphia Monthly Meeting(as was Mary Weston): ex-Gov. Edward Wanton of Rhode Island (and his wife): Jacob Barney (who had married on Nantucket in 1735 - brother of Benjamin): and William Anthony also of Newport, a minister who had visited last in 1726. They included in their visit a young Newport Friend, John Massey, probably a whaler, who had fallen ill on the Island. Nothing was said in Mary Weston's Journal of the notoriety Wanton had achieved by conniving with Gov. John Clarke (also a Quaker) to open Newport to French trade before the British Board of Trade had given permission.

Hector St. John Crebcoeur who visited Nantucket in another decade (for the first time) has a lot to say in his LETTERS OF AN AMERICAN FARMER on the markedly law-abiding life found on Nantucket. He failed, however, to note that a new jail which had been built in 1748 to replace that which Thomas Macy had constructed in 1708. He failed to note an Indian named Jeremy Jude who was executed in 1750 for murder. Nor did he know or note that Minister Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard had complained that Odar Stratton, a member of Meeting, had immodestly abused Mary Johnson, her non-Quaker niece (daughter of the late Theodate) and in making her complaint Aunt Mary stated she was in danger for her own life from Odar. Mary and Ebenezer Barnard, her husband, were both aged 68 at that time. Caleb Stratton, Odar's father came forward with £25.0.0d bail to assure better future conduct. Odar was, however, given five lashes. Then Richard Coffin, David Gardner and Matthew Jenkins came up with another £25.0.0d for re-insurance. Curiously, none of this got into Mary Weston's Journal nor even into the Meeting records. The next year Odar married in Meeting. Five years later Mary Johnson married a Vineyarder (out-of-Meeting) and left the Island. As for Odar Stratton he was disowned finally in 1774 (the year before David Gardner).

In 1752 David Gardner not only helped Elihu and Barnabas Coleman write the Quarterly Report, but took Elihu to Newport to Summer Quarterly Meeting there. And in the Spring of 1753 he helped Benjamin Barney with the Report. He was one of three with Benjamin Coffin and Elihu Coleman to initiate the Reform which led to the Commons Crisis that Spring. It was about this time that some 30 sail anchored by Great Point looked "like a forest" as someone remarked. This year, 1753, David Gardner attended Yearly Meeting. He helped Benjamin Coffin prepare the Summer Report and then whipped back to Newport to report in time on events in that capital. This included bringing back the London Epistle and getting £150.0.0d sent off to help pay for the new South Kingston Meeting House. That Autumn, £15.0.0d more was sent - and an additional £10.0.0d was to help build a Meeting House in Warwick (in Greenwich Monthly Meeting).

In both the Winter and Spring, David Gardner was busy with reports respectively with Benjamin Barney the treasurer and with Philip Pollard. As Summer came on it was agreed to hold two Meetings on First Day at 10:00 a.m.

and 3:00 p.m. instead of one at 11:00 a.m. Visitors of that time noted that 1,500 was not an unusual attendance. Probably 800 attended mid-week Meetings - and with two on Sunday they probably ran 1,000 in the morning and 800 in the afternoon.

Not only was the Meeting House thronged, but as many as seven couples stood up at one Monthly Meeting proposing to marry. On one such occasion in 1754, David Gardner served as overseer with Jonathan Folger. Meanwhile on the Mainland, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards preached his sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" which brought the so-called "Great Awakening"into New England. On Nantucket there were, however, few echoes. Timothy White's successor (after a two years interregnum) the Rev. Joseph Mayhew from Chilmark on Marthas Vinyard, proved to be a proto-Unitarian, indifferent to Quakerism but hostile to the "awakening."

David Gardner was one of the five who reported they couldn't get Philip Pollard, Samuel Bunker, William Russell and Peleg Gardner to stop overstocking the Common Land. And at the same moment he asked Monthly Meeting for arbitration over a quarrel which he had with Paul Bunker, Samuel's brother whose wife was a sister of Mary, Paul's wife. They were disputing their mother Patience (Swain) Gardner's estate. Jethro Starbuck, Richard Macy and Jethro Folger were given this sticky task apparently successfuly. But already the property-conscious contentious side of David's nature showed itself for a moment.

David then served on the Committee to examine the Starbuck legal papers. He was at Summer Quarterly Meeting in 1755 at the first peak of excitement in the crisis. And David was asked to report with Barnabas Gardner in what spirit the discipline was being applied - this in response to Samuel Fothergill's letter. And he signed the Quarterly Meeting recommendation along with Joseph Marshall, that summer.

Meanwhile £10.0.0d was dispatched to Alice Howard of Pembroke Monthly Meeting (whose loss by fire may be presumed) and another £10. 0. 0d to help build a Meeting House at Richmond, Rhode Island. This was followed by "five dollars" (Spanish or Austrian thalers - perhaps worth £60. 0. 0d - to aid Dartmouth Friends. And David Gardner was meanwhile busy with a Spring Report with Benjamin Coffin. Captain Gardner had been again at Yearly Meeting in 1755. Samuel Fothergill was starting his 8,765 mile trip in America - and pushing a new book of discipline useful for rescuing British Quakerism from "Quietism", but not too applicable to the burgeoning American scene. Fothergill made a trip to Edgartown to the small Meeting there in 1756 - if only to comfort the Coffin family for an enormous loss at sea - which will be noticed directly. No doubt David Gardner was present at the Select Yearly Meeting of 1755 when Fothergill's new Queries were approved. He may well have sailed him to Edgartown. In any case David was paid 50 shillings for the small packet of books which he had picked up in Newport and distributed.

In the Autumn, David was again at Quarterly Meeting to explain with Jethro Folger, and Minister Richard Mitchell, why the Bunker-Russell-Gardner trio had been disowned. Samuel Fothergill was there and he served with that luminary on an Epistle Committee. In the Spring, more money was earmarked for the Newtown Meeting House (Dartmouth Monthly Meeting), and sent off. Elihu Coleman and David Gardner were named to the Select Yearly Meeting of 1756 by the Spring Select Quarterly Meeting. David was also asked to write the Summer Report with Richard Mitchell and Benjamin Barney.

Then full war conditions closed in on the Colonies. Already in 1755 three Coffin brothers sailed out of Edgartown, sons of Tristram Coffin and Mary (Bunker) Coffin, of that place and were lost. Captain Jonathan Coffin aged 30, left his wife Eunice (Barnard) Coffin (niece to Elihu Coleman's wife) and four minor children. John Coffin aged 28, was married to Elihu's daughter, Anna (Coleman) Coffin, and had three minor children. Matthew Coffin, aged 20 was unmarried. Then in 1756, Captain Peleg Coffin, aged 29, son of Francis, husband of Elizabeth (Hussey) Coffin, son-in-law of lawyer George Hussey, also a Vineyarder, was lost. He left three minor children. On the same voyage, his brother William Coffin aged 26 went down, leaving a widow, Jedidah (Folger) Coffin, and a posthumous son. She was daughter of non-Quaker John who married very probably the first Portugese girl on the Island - Love (Gabriel) Folger. Worst of all, possibly lost on the same sloop were three more sons of Tristram and Mary Coffin, who sat head incidentally, of the Edgartown Meeting. Thomas Coffin was aged 41, William Coffin, aged 40 and Timothy Coffin aged 25. The older two had probably married non-Quaker Vineyard girls, and were thus only nominal members. Timothy was probably still unmarried. Three other brothers carried on - Samuel, who married Elizabeth Gardner, daughter of Elder Jonathan, and raised a Quaker family in Edgartown. Tristram Jr., who married Hephzibah Coffin and moved to Nantucket to be associated with his father-in-law, Zephaniah Coffin. Finally there was Richard who married Mary Cooke, sister of "Squire" Cooke, Representative in the Legislature after Paine Mayhew for Marthas Vineyard. He would emigrate to Maine in 1770, and be lost to Nantucket Quaker records. The drowning of six stalwart sons in this family in a period of two years proved a crippling blow from which the Edgartown Quaker Meeting never fully recovered. Others lost included Captain John Starbuck aged 30., son of Paul, husband of Abigail (Woodbury) Starbuck: and his cousin, Nathaniel Starbuck aged 33, bachelor son of Minister William. John left a not inconsiderable estate worth £1,984. 4. 6d typical of a young whaling merchant. Then there was David Bunker, aged 39 son of the Benjamin drowned in the great Bunker shipwreck of 1721. He left his wife Elizabeth (Gorham) Bunker and six children. Probably perishing in the same wreck, was his cousin Captain Peter Bunker, aged 30, son of the late Jabez, leaving his widow Judith (Gardner) Bunker, and two minor children. At Peter's death, Christopher Starbuck, the Universal Clerk's youngest son came to the rescue financially of Peter's widowed mother. Peter had been a cloth merchant and all he appeared to have left were several bolts of calico.

In 1756 Captain Henry Coffin, non-Quaker, son of Jonathan and Hephzibah (Harker) Coffin was captured by French privateers and he died unransomed in a French prison - while his brother Jonathan Jr. was brought back in time. Still another to die imprisoned, or as a result of imprisonment, in fact, was Seth Hussey, aged 34, son of the Men's Clark, leaving his wife, Sarah (Jenkins) Hussey, and four children. Luckier was Nathaniel Coleman, son of Barnabas (by his first wife) who was ransomed safe and sound. He was a son-in-law of Silvanus Hussey. But his nephew, Benjamin Coleman aged 21, was killed as the French boarded the sloop. Benjamin was a son of Minister Nathaniel.

Also lost on that day was Paul Chase, cabin boy aged 15, son of Joseph. Possibly Barnabas Coleman, aged 22, son of Jethro was also killed on this occasion.

Others ransomed were William Barnard, son of Ebenezer and Mary, son-in-law of Miller Samuel Coffin: and Joshua Gorham, son of Stephen and Elizabeth of Yarmouth Meeting - a nominal Friend - son-in-law of James Lovell. It is probable that Reuben Pinkham, aged 28, son of Theophilus, son-in-law of Paul Starbuck who died of smallpox in France, was another of those captured.

There was then the case of Thomas Hussey, aged 16, son of Lawyer George who was simply "killed by a whale" in 1756. Was Thomas Jenkins, aged 49, son of Matthew, husband of Judith (Folger)Jenkins, also lost at sea in 1756? He left eight Quaker children. A little later, Matthew Jenkins, aged 23 perished, son of Peter and Abigail (Gardner) Jenkins, leaving a pregnant bride Lydia (Macy) Jenkins, daughter of Jabez. Early in 1757 two others perished: one Seth Swain, aged 31, son of the late non-Quaker John Jr., leaving his wife and two minor children. He was son-in-law of Selectman Richard: and there was Joseph Gardner also aged 31, son of the retired Captain Ebenezer. He left a wife, but apparently no children. He was son-in-law of the late Richard Worth. No less than twenty male Members of Meeting perished within the span of two to three years. This combined with whaling sloops captured made for a worrying time. Still, in retrospect, this situation was mild indeed compared to the testing time of the American Revolutionary War.

Richard Mitchell now asked for a Minute to travel "westward" in the Ministry - probably to Philadelphia to confer with Friends there - who under the guidance of Israel Pemberton were making their dramatic withdrawal from the Pennsylvania Government. David Gardner and Benjamin Barney drew up his Travelling Minute. And David was named to attend Quarterly Meeting with Silvanus Hussey and with Richard Mitchell - then about to leave.

Some 21 Pacifist Certificates were issued to young Quaker whalers during this time - which may have cut down the losses. The following were the recipients: William Benjamin Jr. and Micajah, sons of Banker Benjamin Coffin (as before noted): Benjamin Barney Jr: William Jr: John, Robert and Joseph Clasby, sons of Elder William Clasby: Jonathan Gardner, son of Elder Barnabus: Walter Folger, son of Captain Barziliai: Lionel Worth, son of the late Richard: Daniel Folger Jr: Tristram Folger, son of Elder Jethro: Robert Hussey, son of Captain John: Peleg and Job Coggeshall, sons of Caleb of Newport, in process of transverring their membership to Nantucket: William Coleman, son of Minister Elihu: Jonathan Paddack, son of Eliphalet: William Stanton Jr: Francis Macy son of the late Thomas: Tristram Coffin Jr. and Jethro Macy, son of Jabez.

While the Meeting granted the last two (in 1757) in a burst of generosity, it also donated £25. to Benjamin Barney in appreciation of his work as Meeting Treasurer. The women then gave £7 to Mary Gardner simultaneously for being a conscientious caretaker of the Meeting House. Her annual stipend had been, it would appear, a small forty shillings for the previous sixteen years each.

Once again in 1757 as in 1756, David Gardner attended Yearly Meeting, this time in company with Richard Mitchell, on his way back "westward" and David was busy writing the Quarterly Report in the Summer of 1757 with Benjamin Coffin. Money was collected for an ailing Matthew Estes of Pembroke Monthly Meeting. At this time, probably kin of the man married on Nantucket from that family forty years before.

David Gardner also served as Quarterly Meeting Representative in the Autumn of 1757 with Silvanus Hussey, Richard Macy and Elihu Coleman. Early in 1758, David joined a community of six to look in the Commons Case and the question of distraints for refusal to pay the War Tax. He was again named to the Spring Quarterly Meeting along with Richard Mitchell. And with Joseph Marshall, David wrote the Summer Report.

As 1758 drew around it was obvious the Gardners were the principal patronimic grouping in the Men's Meeting - some 47 as compared to 38 carrying the name Coffin, 29 the name Macy, 24 Folgers and 25 the name Barnard. One Gardner died in 1758, Jethro Jr. aged 26, probably lost at sea. He had married out, and may have left children. In any case, he was a marginal member. In 1758 the number of distaff descendents from the original Sarah stood at 25, much less than the 47 women who could trace back to Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin-Varney, or the 35 descended from the founder Mary Starbuck or the 59 descended from Dinah Starbuck's mother. The original Bunker-Godfrey women's line ran to 45 in 1758, while the Hopcot-Macys stood at 40. 243 women were directly descended of six lines, while only 163 men were descended of five patronymic groupings - ratio 41 women to men 33 men per major grouping. Probably half the white population of Nantucket were Quakers in 1758 - another quarter were Friends of Friends - leaving probably a fifth of the Island's population in the Congregational Church.

In the Summer of 1758, Nantucket sent ten Spanish dollars to help repair the Providence Meeting House, rather than to build a new one at an estimated cost of £3, 070.0.0d Another four dollars were sent to help Dartmouth Friends who were distrained heavily. And suddently David Gardner's name disappeared from the Record. Was he off on a trip without a Travelling Minute? In any case he was not active in Meeting affairs as the response from London Yearly Meeting was coming in.

At least two men were lost at sea in 1759. One was Andrew Gardner Jr., aged 29, unmarried. The other was John Gwinn, aged 33, husband of Eunice (Russell) Gwinn. His mother, Alice (Cartwright) Gwinn, who was living in Dartmouth then returned to Nantucket.

Then it was time for Nantucket to learn the London decision. In the Committee of Nine named to receive the news, David Gardner's name again figures. But his name appears so low down on the list as to indicate a hesitation concerning his being named. And as before recounted, he initially refused the decision along with Richard Macy and Benjamin Barney. Probably he had been a leader in the last six months of those who refused to be polite to Elihu Coleman. David's name does not appear among those destrained, whereas Elihu's brother Nathaniel's did. And Elihu was for him a dangerous rival.

Still, that Summer, David Gardner was asked to write Returning Minutes for Mary Kirby and Elizabeth Smith - though he was still technically under dealing. Obviously a good proportion of the members refused to admit that this was the case. On the other hand, David no doubt rose when Elihu knelt to pray. Incidentally, Mary Gardner was paid £7. 10. 0d for care of the Meeting House in 1760 - no doubt in the inflated "old tenor" currency of the time. William Rotch appeared in the Ministry in 1760. In fact he asked to be excused from Family visiting so he could travel to North Shore Meetings. This was agreed

to and Joseph Marshall Jr. took his place on the Visiting Committee. Also Joseph Russell of Dartmouth was dreaming up New Bedford and was influencing Joseph Rotch to join him there. In fact, Joseph had built a whaling sloop on the Acushnet River in 1760 where his wife's kin owned most of what is now Fairhaven. Dartmouth Monthly Meeting then numbered 1,600 members - greater than Nantucket, but divided into several Preparative Meetings.

One death at sea occurred in 1760, that of Zaccheus Howes, aged 33, leaving his wife Lydia (Gardner) Howes and four minor children. He was son-in-law of Captain Ebenezer. It was an evil destiny which took his life, that of his father and his grandfather. By that time, David Gardner, Benjamin Barney and Richard Macy had made sufficient amends for their case to be suspended if not closed. A common scapegoat was found in the figure of Jabez Macy.

A report next came in that Providence Friends had built a new Meeting House after all, costing £7,018. 14. 7d and that Quarterly Meeting was prepared to underwrite the costs. Nantucket wasn't. A parsimonious five Spanish Dollars only was dispatched. Later this figure was matched. But Nantucket was willing to send thirty Spanish Dollars to help Boston Meeting rebuild its Meeting House - in response to an appeal which came at that time. That Summer, Joseph Worth and Jonathan Macy were asked to collect summaries of the "living services and dying sayings of Ministers and Elders and other substantial Friends." The first Nantucket Friend so honored was Deborah (Coffin) Macy, widow of Treasurer Thomas, "a virtuous woman", known for her charity, who died in 1760 aged 78, leaving perhaps 65 descendants. Nothing was done for William Starbuck, though his aunt Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman was remembered. In fact, Nantucket seemed to forget about the Yearly Meeting Book of Memorials as it was called. Not even Judith Wilcox, who died in 1760 was put in it!

Late in 1760, a first dealing over slavery had taken place. Joseph Marshall and Minister Joseph Jenkins visited Timothy Folger, son of Representative Abishai, and grandson of Representative Paine Mayhew to influence him to free his negress when she reached the age of 25- and he was to leave to go as Whaling Agent in London. Timothy would be back to play a leading role on the Island during the Revolutionary War. Then early in 1761, Silvanus Allen and his wife, Jemima (Starbuck) Allen, and the four youngest of their nine children asked for a transfer to Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. Allen was a Whaling Promoter of some importance - the first to recognize that New Bedford was a dream worth realizing. They were joined by Benjamin Taber Jr. and Hannah (Gardner) Taber (daughter of Barnabas) before the year was out. Taber was involved in creating New Bedford as well. He had married on Nantucket in 1756, arriving from Dartmouth - to which he now returned. Taber appreciated Nantucket women, for when his first wife died, he came back to the Island to find another.

Meanwhile, in the Spring of 1761, Joseph Marshall Jr. retired from the Visiting Committee to succeed Silvanus Hussey as Men's Monthly Meeting Clerk. Philip Pollard now joined the Visiting Committee. By this time David Gardner's name had totally vanished from the Meeting Record. Circumstances were changing. Joseph Marshall and Barnabas Coleman asked to suggest in writing that one session of Quarterly Meeting be held in Dartmouth for instance. Elihu Coleman

and Silvanus Hussey went to argue the case. Probably the idea was accepted in principle, for the old Appongcanset Meeting House was torn down and the present sp cious structure put up in 1767. Benjamin Barney then resigned the Meeting Treasury to be succeeded by Jonathan Macy, who promptly sent off £200 to help pay for the Providence Meeting House. It will be recalled Barney took the job fourteen years before after John Macy refused to face up to the costs of the Youth Galleries in the Nantucket Meeting House. A list of membership in 1760 showed that in Rhode Island and Southern Massachusetts there were as many Quakers as there are in Great Britain today.

It was also agreed that an appointment of formal representatives to the Select Quarterly Meeting was in order. Elihu Coleman undertook to see this was done. And Joseph Casey the Yearly Meeting Clerk was succeeded by Joseph Congden. Directly afterwards, Sarah Barney, Spinster Minister, sister-in-law to William Rotch and Samuel Starbuck, got her first Minute for Travel - in this case to Philadelphia. In that place, Minister Ann Jones had set up a standard of what we would call "women's Lib" which Susannah Freeborn which have much approved. In two or three years this would work a revolution in New England Yearly Meeting. Obviously a new age was in the process of being made - coincident with the opposition to the new mercantile system then being forced upon the Colonies by that most English monarch, George 3rd. In this new age David Gardner seems somehow out of place.

Samuel Nottingham arred with a Minute of Fat Hog Bay Monthly Meeting (on Tortola) appeared with Henry Stanton of Core Sound Monthly Meeting (North Carolina)in 1761 with the news that Samuel Rodman of Greenwich Monthly Meeting (Rhode Island) had been disowned for buying and selling a slave. Henry had come by in 1740 to encourage migration to North Carolina. Samuel had been with John Woolman at the sail-loft Meeting in 1747. They noted Elihu Coleman triumphant in both anti-slave and Commons controversies appointed to Quarterly Meeting and Clerk to the Select Meeting. They also noted women Friends reading the Yearly Meeting epistle for the first time and asking why it was that the men's epistle was the one that they had to read.

In 1762 Nantucket recorded that a last whaling sloop was captured by the French off the Leeward Islands. The whaling industry was now entering into the "flourishing condition" which Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts noticed in his contemporary history of the New England Colonies. Nantucket then contributed another £35. to the Providence Meeting House, with two Spanish Dollars to go towards the Ordinary Yearly Meeting assessment. And again, twenty dollars went to Boston. It was also agreed to enlarge Nantucket Meeting House again to accommodate 2,000 attenders. Probably this was done by pushing the north wall back twenty feet. David Joy who oversaw this transformation was a native of Dartmouth where many enlargements had been carried out. Robert Barnard, Captain Hezekiah Coffin, Philip Pollard, Jonathan Macy, William Rotch and William Hussey were asked to see this done. In fact, the enlargement did not prove too successful. It was completed in 1764 - but was removed in 1792, the material being used to in part to build the North Meeting just off Center Street. The original structure was taken apart and a smaller edition re-built as the South Meeting House on Pleasant and Main Streets. Probably some of the excess materials from the South House helped complete the North. It is, on the fact of it, interesting that no division of the Meeting was considered feasible in 1762 as it was in 1792.

Later that year, William Rotch and Jonathan Macy got Travelling Minutes to Philadelphia, while Sarah Barney got a Minute to Voyage with Comfort Hoag of Hampton Monthly Meeting to England - the first woman Friend from Nantucket to undertake this. Comfort had visited Nantucket in 1751, 1754, 1758 and 1759. Rachel Coleman and Lois Macy drew their Minute which was signed by Mary (Gardner) Gardner who was now (1761) Clerk replacing Mehitable (Gardner) Pollard who had served sixteen years. Joseph Marshall also signed the Minute - and 24 others did so for good measure. Then at last again, we find David Gardner's name. He signed the Rotch-Macy Minute after two Monthly Meeting adjournments "it not suiting to act." Benjamin Coffin actually wrote all three documents in his fine miniscule hand, he being the Recording Clerk. Possibly the delay came as it became known Rotch had written Aaron Lopez in Newport. Was commercial enterprise too high a priority in his envisaged trip? Certainly in 1762 Thomas Bunker and Joseph Swain complained that dealings with the Lopez brothers cost them dearly, and Captain Tristram Coffin of Edgartown objected to inferior tobacco which Lopez sent him for twenty six barrels of oil. That David Gardner had no scruples in signing their Minute is perhaps illuminating. The new Queries were read and answered for the first time in the Autumn of 1761. They were attempted again in the Spring of 1762. Obviously a more rational less ambitious plan would have to be worked out. The two schoolteachers, Benjamin Coffin and Joseph Marshall (the Clerks as well) had this impossible task wished upon them.

Sandwich Quarterly Meeting now proposed that Acushnet and Rochester Preparative Meetings be assigned to Sandwich Monthly Meeting and that Nantucket Monthly Meeting be put under its jurisdiction. As Dartmouth Monthly Meeting had just set off Acoakset, Westport and Newtown Preparative Meetings as Acoakset Monthly Meeting, this would leave only Apponegansett, Smith's Neck and Allen's Neck Preparative Meetings in Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. This solution met with opposition not only from Nantucket, but from Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. The matter was referred to Yearly Meeting. However, the in-balance between eight Monthly Meetings in Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting, and the two in Sandwich was still a glaring consideration.

David Gardner, William Rotch and Jonathan Macy had care of preparing a "raft" of returning Minutes for the visitors at General Meeting in 1762. The principal one was for Elizabeth Wilkinson of Cumberland who kept a "Journal of my Visit to America" in which she was horrified to note that the younger women Friends on Nantucket wore gold earrings and necklaces, while the young dandies sported coats with cross pockets and were not averse to tipping their hats to the charming young things. In fact they hardly dressed as Friends at all. All this Elizabeth tilted against - not realizing that a good many were attenders only. In fact she told the Meeting plainly that not "to be satisfied with being descended from an ancient and honorable family." (probably "Starbuck" was intended, but "Gardner" would have been more realistic) "was not enough." She had written while staying with Jonathan Hussey in Dartmouth "Oh you inhabitants of New England, how I have had to mourn over you. That you have

slighted all the pains that have been bestowed upon you." She had dinner at Silvanus Hussey's but was not well, which may explain somewhat her jaundiced eye.

When Elizabeth Wilkinson was ill, Robert Proud of Yorkshire, doctor and companion, bled her. He was en route to settle in Philadelphia to head up the Quaker school system there. Later he proved to be the first competent American Quaker historian. John Pemberton who had been on Nantucket in 1755 was also present, as was Matthew Franklin, the wealthiest of New York Friends (he had visited in 1757 and 1758.) Hannah Harris of Pardshall Monthly Meeting in Cumberland was strictly speaking Elizabeth Wilkinson's companion. Jonathan Hoag of Hampton Monthly Meeting (now generally called Amesbury Monthly Meeting) and Mary Peasley from the same place all required Returning Minutes.

Elizabeth and company departed after a sermon preached on the text "Go ye into my Vineyard," however, missing Edgartown as a favorable wind carried them to Falmouth to Edward Wing's house. There he fed the multitudes - as Friends seemed to travel in groups of at least fifty at this middle century season. (68 in this party). It is reported that Elizabeth Wilkinson broke off in the middle of a sermon in Falmouth Meeting soon afterwards. Despite illness she covered 4,327 miles on this trip to America and she lived to marry a Jonathan Dickinson of her home county. She could well have attacked Philadelphia where two thirds of its social register were Quakers. Only the Franklins of New York or the Redwoods of Newport could equal the wealth of Israel Pemberton and his crowd. It was during these year that Anthony Benezet took Philadelphia Friends to task for adding £10,000 to £10,000 and thinking all the while they were being examples of religion. On Nantucket picnics to Polpus on the South Shore were about as much social life as Nantucket could boast. "Oyster" parties were taboo as they tended to degenerate into "frollicks" in which men and women got drunk. In fact, in 1762 one Benjamin Clark, non-Friend was arrested for holding such parties in his home. Sadly enough, the Courts also recorded that George Hussey, aged 68, once Legal Counsel to the Starbuck family had been up for drunkenness. In another decade he would be cut off for this weakness about the same age as that of his father when he was disowned.

In Meeting in 1761, William Coffin, Miller Samuel's son apologised for allowing a daughter of his to marry out-of-Meeting in his house. William had only one daughter of marriagable age in 1761. She was Deborah aged 18. According to Town Records, she married Abel Gardner Jr. Congregationalist, in that year. He died in 1777 in one of the notorious prison ships anchored off Long Island. Meanwhile she appears to have migrated to North Carolina. Did Abel leave with her?

In 1762 there were 78 vessels in the whaling trade. In two years (1761 and 1762) 9,440 barrels of oil and 40 tons of bone were procured. Duty on this bone alone ran to £31.0.0d. (In examining the estate of one Richard Worth, non-Member, (originated in New Jersey) it would appear that three whaling sloops in which he had interest were worth as follows: Sloop Mary - £210.9.0d: Sloop New Castle - £506. 13.6d : Sloop Kit Baxter - £565.0.0d. In 1763 a total

of 75 whaling Captains were listed as putting out from Nantucket. They were: 13 Folgers: 7 Gardners: 6 Coffins: 5 Pinkhams: 4 Barnards: 4 Moores: 4 Starbucks: 4 Stantons: 3 Bunkers: 3 Jenkins: 3 Myricks: 3 Paddacks: 2 Browns: 2 Husseys: 2 Ways: 2 Worths - one Chadwick: 1 Coggeshall: 1 Coleman: 1 Fitch and 1 Stratton. Altogether 60 vessels brought in 9,238 barrels of oil to be "tryed" in Nantucket. No less than 5,030 tons was taken to London to be sold. The whalers ranged from the Guinea African coast to the Arctic where Massachusetts complained that the Crown was excluding whalers in line with the "infamous" Proclamation Line of 1763. The temporary French seizure of Newfoundland in 1762 reinforced the anti-Nantucket sentiment of the native Irish Catholic population, hardly improved by the attitude of the British Government once it took over. Edgartown was now developing its own whaling industry. Captain Peter Pease was notable in this regard, sailing in 1763 to Barbados. In 1762 David Gardner was asked to procure a copy of the New Discipline along with Jonathan Macy, who would pay for it. This copy is still among the records stored at the Peter Foulger Vault. Soon afterwards, Jonathan Hoag, Comfort's husband, got a small Returning Minute. He had come to witness the enlarged document which Sarah Barney now had in hand preparatory to finally getting off on her British trip.

In 1764, David Gardner agreed to share the cost of a copy of George Fox's Journal with Barnabas Coleman. There was then nothing more heard of him until in 1769 he lodged a complaint over property against Reuben Gardner, his elder brother. Benjamin Coffin, Samuel Starbuck and John Macy 3rd were agreed upon by the brothers to act as mediators, while William Rotch, Barzillai Folger and Benjamin Coffin were asked to draw up a statement when the case was arbitrated. Agreement was achieved except that David continued to demand interest on the capital which he had lost. So Minister Joseph Jenkins, Barnabus Coleman and Micajah Coffin got involved in the case. They dismissed David's claim as exhorbitant. This encouraged Reuben to go back on his former agreement. So he was disowned in 1773, and the unpleasant affair sucked down David two years later. He was no longer regarded as a Minister - not, it may be feared - as a man of honor.

In fact the case against Reuben lay fallow until mid-Summer of 1772 when William Rotch, Silvanus Starbuck and Daniel Macy were asked to look into the mess. Two months later, report was made that Reuben refused arbitration. Some progress was made in the Autumn. But a month later, Benjamin Coffin, Matthew Barnard and Joseph Marshall were asked to meet David to discipline him for allowing his daughter Dinah to marry Seth Spooner twelve years before out-of-Meeting in his house and for not putting his business affairs in shape, as well as for unspecified "unwarrantable conduct."

Early in 1773 it was reported that Reuben was at sea still having refused to arbitrate his difference with David. Two months later, David apologized for Dinah's marriage and for buying "stolen goods": coal (30 or 40 bushels) "some time ago" at Cape Breton Island. He also promised to pay back what money he had made on the transaction. In the Autumn, Mary Gardner testified that though David was away, he did not object to his daughter Mary marrying Nathaniel Ray in Meeting. Dinah Spooner admitted that their father had originally said "no" but had become reconciled to the idea. Still the marriage was held off for five years! Incidentally, it was at this Monthly Meeting that George Hussey aged 82, was cut off for "excessive use of spiritous liquors". No further

record was made of dealing with Reuben, but he ceased being a Member in 1773.

In the Autumn of 1774, the Meeting reported having dealt with David on a number of points - one still unsatisfactory. Finally in the early Summer of 1775 William Rotch was asked to tell David Gardner that he was disowned for failing to get his "outward affairs" in order. This was two months after the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Mary continued to care for the great Meeting House for some more years, and presumably to speak in Meeting, though it must have been a hard blow to know one's husband had not measured up to the ever increasingly higher standards required. It seems not only David Gardner went, but the Gardner name itself flagged. Even as early as in 1768 the Gardners counted fewer heads in Meeting than in 1758. By 1778 the falling off was obvious. Still Mary went to Meeting with their two unmarried daughters being attached to the South Meeting in 1792. Mary died in 1797, aged 84. David died the next year. Hephzibah was then 64 and her sister Ruth 38. One married sister, Dinah Spooner was also left on the Island aged 56, to remember how a promising Ministry had turned sour.

Three prominent Gardners died while David was still a Member - two of them women. First there was Judith (Gardner) Barnard, daughter of Minister Nathaniel, and wife of Benjamin (who died in 1729 earlier on). She became a Member when they married in 1711. From 1728 to 1760 she handled 85 marriage requests - the peak year being 1754 when she had 15 in hand. When she died in 1765, aged 72, she left 66 descendants.

Her older sister Hannah (Gardner) Bunker, was wife and then widow of Jabez, to whom particular attention has been made. She died in 1773, aged 87, leaving 87 descendants. She was also Aunt to 57 Nantucketers, great-Aunt to possibly a larger number. She had at least a hundred direct first cousins on the Island, not to mention those first cousins once removed, or second cousins. Her going pulled out a king-pin or rather a "queen"-pin of social cohesiveness on the Island. She was a founding member in 1708, an Elder and she undertook 30 appointments for the Meeting from 1730 to 1750 . And there was overseer Barnabas Gardner (uncle of Mary Gardner) who died in 1769 aged 74 leaving a moderate 25 descendants. His residence at 153 Main Street, was built in 1723 upon his return to Nantucket from an early stay in Boston. (It may have been rebuilt from an earlier Capaum dwelling). It was then that he joined Meeting with his Boston born wife, Mary (Wheeler) Gardner. In 1764 he was named caretaker of the greatly enlarged Meeting House - actually to oversee Mary Gardner, and to care for repairs - that is to see that they were carried out. Altogether, Barnabas served 48 times on Meeting Committees, 41 of these having to do with marriage. He served on the Visiting Committee in 1738 and in 1755. He was Book Agent briefly in 1744, on the Membership Committee in 1757, the Commons Case in 1759 and in 1762 helped write a Quarterly Report. Mary (Wheeler) Gardner survived him another twenty years. One son was living in Barrington, Nova Scotia when he died. And two daughters had moved to Dartmouth, Monthly Meeting. He was the member of the James Gardner line most worthy of his Quaker vocation - though, of course, Mary (Gardner) Gardner, his niece, must never be overlooked.

JETHRO STARBUCK OR HOW MARY STARBUCK'S LAST SURVIVING CHILD WITNESSED THE FINAL RESOLUTION OF THE COMMONS CASE.

Jethro Starbuck (1671-1770) was the typical early 18th century Friend on Nantucket - if typical means faithful, weighty, influential and sensitive. He was, of course, not a centennial Quaker but one for 66 years only from 1704-1770. He was lucid to the end and active in a somewhat limited way, at least for his last decade. His memory took him back to the bloodless revolution of the 1670's. He recalled the eight original settlers of Nantucket who left male heirs: his grandfathers Tristram Coffin and Edward Starbuck he remembered. The Liberals, Thomas Macy and Peter Folger, Richard Swain (John's father) and Thomas Coleman (whose grandson married Jethro's Ministering sister Priscilla); William Worth (convinced Quaker) and John Brown (convinced Puritan). As for Thomas Gardner, (father of Captains John and Richard) he never settled on the Island; nor did George Bunker, (William's father). Thomas Barnard, (Nathaniel's father) was also an off-Islander, as was Christopher Hussey, (Stephen's father), Thomas Chase, (Isaac's father) lived on the Vineyard. Jethro may have met some of these five. Certainly he knew the twenty-six sons of the twelve founders (who left male lines) and he was aware of the ninety male descent lines which they left on the Island. Richard Gardner's four sons: Richard, Joseph, James and Nathaniel were four of the ninety, as were Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and Jethro Starbuck two others of that grouping. Captain John Gardner had left two others; John Gardner Jr. of Boston and Deacon John Gardner (who married Mary Starbuck's only Puritan daughter). Incidentally, John Jr. left two sons who left Congregationalist descendants on Nantucket - but one of George's two lines reverted back to their founder greatgrandmother's Quakerism. But if the Gardners boasted six of the ninety lines, the Coffins nearly doubled the boast, with eleven lines on the Island. The only other of the original families to outdo the Gardners were the Folgers with nine branches - though two newcomer families also beat the Gardners. These were the Pinkhams and the Clarks. Altogether 21 patronymic groupings were to be found among the 90 lines, whereas only eight such (it will be recalled) were represented in the first generation.

Because Jethro's mother was a Coffin (the only female of that family in her generation incidentally) this is the appropriate place to sketch in that most prolific family in its earliest stages. Judge Peter Coffin, Jethro's eldest Coffin uncle, left two sons on the Island. The first was Peter Coffin Jr. who married Jethro's sister Elizabeth. Jethro and Elizabeth, as it happened, both died early, leaving seven children, only one of whom, Tristram Coffin, married on the Island, choosing in fact, a granddaughter of the Puritan John Brown. The second was, Jethro Coffin, the owner of the so-called oldest house on Sunset Hill. He married a daughter of Captain John Gardner, and raised up six Congregationalists. Three were sons: John who wed Lydia Gardner (daughter of Richard Jr): Deacon Josiah who wed Elizabeth Coffin (daughter of James Coffin Jr.) and Robert who married Parnell Coffin, daughter of Quaker Miller Samuel - but she died directly, so he re-married, in this case Susannah Coffin, daughter of Jonathan, (Congregationalist son of Representative James). The male lines from Judge Peter were more strongly Puritan than even those of Captain John Gardner.

Three of Peter Coffin Jr's daughters were, however, Friends. The eldest Abigail (Coffin) Fitch, wife of Jedidiah, was a Member of Boston Meeting. Eunice, a much younger sister married Captain Ebenezer Gardner in 1709,

Her next sister Jemima married early in 1727, but in Meeting, to the William Swain whose conduct worried Friends in the early years. Neither of Jethro's two daughters, who married on Nantucket, strayed from the Puritan path. Priscilla wed John Gardner 3rd, who moved from Boston to the Island. Abigail who chose Nathaniel Woodbury, also from Boston.

The major Coffin lines on Nantucket came from Representative James Coffin, Jethro Starbuck's next Coffin Uncle. In this case there were six sons. James Coffin Sr. had married a Boston woman, Severance, from whom the greatest distaff line is to be found in Nantucket Meeting. Yet her son, James Coffin Jr. joined the Congregational Church. He first married a daughter of Sarah Gardner, who died almost immediately. James' second wife was a daughter of Captain John Gardner. They had eleven children, all Congregationalists. Six were sons with heirs. George married Ruth Swain, granddaughter of the original Quaker. Nathan married Lydia Bunker, a nominal Quaker daughter of Elizabeth Clark, Elisha married Dinah Bunker, daughter of Congregationalist Peleg. Joshua married her sister Priscilla Bunker, James married Priscilla Rawson, daughter of Wilson, also a Puritan. And Benjamin first married Rebecca Coffin, daughter of Bardlett of the Vineyard - and then late in life in 1766 wed (in Meeting) Hannah Bunker, daughter of Jabez, and became a Friend.

The second son of Representative James, Captain Nathaniel Coffin wed Damaris Gayer, sister of the Women's Clerk, who after his death joined Meeting. She had three sons who lived on Nantucket. Charles Coffin wed a Mary Barratt of Boston and stayed out of Meeting. Benjamin Coffin wed Jedidah Hussey, daughter of Batchellor in 1762 and became the great Quaker schoolmaster and Clerk of many years standing. When Jedidah died, Benjamin wed Deborah Macy in 1762 in Meeting and by so doing opened the way to becoming a grandfather to Lucretia (Coffin) Mott, perhaps the most famous of Nantucket women. And Nathaniel Coffin married Mary Sheffield a Newport Friend of that place. The Quakerism of this household slipped during the American Revolutionary War.

The third son of Representative James was merchant John Coffin who wed Hope Gardner, a daughter of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. They had three sons, two of whom joined Meeting. Richard married Ruth Bunker, daughter of Elizabeth Clark, and then they elected to raise a Quaker family. They did so. Elias on the other hand married a Congregationalist daughter of Ebenezer Coffin, and joined that church. And Francis married Theodate Gorham, Shubael's daughter in Yarmouth Meeting in 1727 and came to live on Nantucket. (And in the Meeting).

The fourth son of Representative James, Ebenezer Coffin, married Eleanor Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel Sr., and joined the Puritan ranks. They had five sons who had children. Prince married Mercy Skiffe, daughter of Nathan, founder of that name on the Island. Cromwell married a daughter of James Coffin Jr., Alexander wed a daughter of Elizabeth Clark: Judith Bunker, a Nominal Friend. Joseph married a daughter of Elisha Coffin, a granddaughter of James Coffin Jr. and Benjamin married a daughter of Bartlett Coffin of the Vineyard. All were Congregationalists.

The fifth son of Representative James, Joseph Coffin, wed Bethiah Macy, daughter of John Sr. (who became a Friend in 1715). Two of these three sons

followed their mother's choice. Micah, the eldest did not. He wed a Coleman daughter of Thomas, nephew of John (Head of Meeting.) Zaccheus the next, wed Mary Pinkham, daughter of Shubael in Meeting in 1731. And Hezekiah, the youngest, followed suit with Lydia Folger, daughter of Jethro (Head of the Meeting as well) in 1742.

And Jonathan Coffin, the sixth son of Representative James, married Hephzibah Harker, and like her, was a Congregationalist. They had five stalwart Puritan sons! Daniel, who wed Elizabeth Stratton, went to live in Boston. She later became Paul Starbuck's third wife. Henry who wed a daughter of Nathaniel Woodbury: Jonathan who married a daughter of Major Josiah Coffin: Joshua who wed a daughter of Peter Gardner, grandson of Minister Nathaniel: and James who wed a daughter of John Swain Jr. Thus of the six major male Coffin lines, three were wholly Puritan - three partially so.

James and Mary (Severance) Coffin had six daughters as well. Mary, the eldest, first married Richard Pinkham, the first of his name on the Island. Four of their eight children joined Meeting - two joined the Congregational Church. Mary later became the fourth wife of James Gardner. Abigail, the next, married Minister Nathaniel Gardner. Six of their nine children joined Meeting - the other three joined the Church. Dinah married Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. and joined Meeting in 1704. They had ten Quaker children. Deborah married George Bunker (successor to Nathaniel Starbuck as Clerk of the Proprietary.) They joined the Church. One of their three children joined Meeting - the other two the Church. Elizabeth first married Jonathan Bunker (Jabez' brother). Their nine children all joined Meeting and in 1723 Elizabeth married Thomas Clark, in Meeting, as his second wife. Finally, Ruth married Joseph Gardner son of Richard Jr. and stayed clear of both religious bodies. One of their seven children joined Meeting. Four joined the Church. Here two lines were Quaker, and on an overall balance the other four lines were divided equally between Meeting and Church.

To complete the picture, we must now look at the daughters of the six sons. Captain Nathaniel had two daughters with descendants on the Island. Lydia married Joseph Chase, son of Isaac of the Vineyard. One daughter later married into Meeting and Catherine, a Nominal Friend, married a son of Joseph and Ruth Gardner, out-of-Meeting. At least one son joined the Church. Merchant John had two daughters. Judith married Captain Ebenezer Coffin as his second wife, out-of-Meeting, and lived to become the first insane patient on the Island. Abigail wed Zaccheus Folger, son of John of Edgartown. Four of Judith's nine children joined Meeting. Abigail's five were rather more inclined toward Puritanism.

Puritan Ebenezer had two daughters, both Congregationalists! Love who wed Elias Coffin and raised six in the church: and Jane who married William Bunker, son of Peleg and also raised a family in that Church. Whaler Joseph had two daughters as well, one a member of Meeting. She was Miriam who married Joseph Chase, son of Isaac Jr. in Meeting in 1737, and had two Quaker children. The other Mary wed Joseph's brother, Isaac Chase 3rd, out-of-Meeting and had one child in their family who married into Meeting. And finally Jonathan had three daughters all Congregationalists: Susannah who wed Robert, son of Jethro Coffin of Sunset Hill as his second wife: Anna who wed Paul Paddack nominal

Quaker, son of Nathaniel out-of-Meeting: and Mary who did likewise with Christopher Hussey, son of Silvanus the Clerk. Susanna had ten children all baptized in the Church. Anna had four children, three of whom joined Meeting. And Mary also had four - of whom one joined Meeting. The balance of influence amont the distaff descent of Representative James' sons was about two thirds in favor of the Church - one third for Friends - not far off the proportions of the rest of this most numerous branch of the Coffin family.

Jethro Starbuck's next Coffin uncle, Major John Coffin lived, of course, on the Vineyard. He left four sons with descendents. First there was Peter Coffin who married Christian Conday, probably daughter of William Gayer's second wife, but by her first husband. They had one son, Bartlett, who was a Congregationalist, as was his mother. Peter then married Hope Gardner, daughter of Joseph and Bethiah (Macy) Gardner, and had eight more children. Of these, four were male: Abner, Congregationalist: Tristram, Quaker: Robert, Quaker: and Peter Jr. Quaker. Bartlett married a daughter of Congregationalist Peleg Bunker, and raised seven children in the Church. Abner married Phoebe (?) Butler, a Vineyard widow and raised a large family in the Edgartown church. Tristram married Jimima Barnard in Meeting in 1743, she a daughter of Ebenezer. Robert followed suit in 1744 with Jemima Gardner, daughter of Samuel. And Peter wed Priscilla Coleman, daughter of Minister Elihu in Meeting in 1750. The last three naturally raised Quaker families.

Peter Coffin also had three daughters. The first, Lydia, married Samuel Long, son of Robert (the first on the Island). One of their seven children joined Meeting. The second, Margaret, wed John Davis (an on-comer) and had three children, two of whom became Friends. The third, Hannah, joined Meeting by marrying Abishai Barnard, son of Benjamin, in 1743. They raised nine Quaker children. Probably half of Peter's descendants found their way into Meeting.

Major John's second son was Enoch Coffin, who wed Beulah Eddy of the Vineyard and raised eight children, there in the Edgartown Church. Only two of these married into Nantucket families. They were daughters. One Abigail married Congregationalist Grafton Gardner, son of Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner and raised a Church family on Nantucket. The other was Deborah who married Tristram Gardner, Nominal Quaker sons of Captain Ebenezer out-of-Meeting. This was a totally Church grouping.

But Major John's third son, Samuel Coffin was an active Friend. He married Miriam Gardner, daughter of Richard 3rd and set up a flour mill on Nantucket. They had ten Quaker children of whom three were sons. The eldest was John, the famous merchant who married Kezia Folger, Captain Daniel's daughter in 1740. Their daughter Kezia Fanning was the first diarist on the Island. The second was David who wed Ruth Coleman, daughter of Minister Elihu in 1741. And the third was William who wed Priscilla Paddack, daughter of Nathaniel on the Cape in 1740. Samuel's six daughters next follow.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

CONCERNING JETHRO STARBUCK (CONTINUED) 1-END

Deborah wed Tristram Starbuck, son of the Universal Clerk in 1729 in Meeting. Parnel wed Robert Coffin, Congregationalist (son of Jethro) out-of-Meeting in 1726 and died. Sarah married Samuel Stanton in Meeting in 1733, he being an on-comer. Miriam wed Richard Pinkham (son of Shubael) in Meeting in 1742. Mary wed William Barnard (son of Ebenezer) also in Meeting in 1743. And Priscilla followed suit in 1748 with Christopher Coleman, son of Soloman. Here was a sound Quaker phalanx.

Miller Samuel had a twin brother Tristram Coffin, who sat head of the Edgartown Meeting with his wife Mary (Bunker) Coffin, daughter of the original William. They had eleven children of whom five were boys with Nantucket progeny. David married Abigail Folger (daughter of Jonathan) in 1757 in Meeting. Samuel wed Elizabeth Gardner (daughter of Jonathan) in 1744 in Meeting. Tristram, who inherited care of the Edgartown Meeting, married Hephzibah Coffin according to Quaker discipline in 1744, she daughter of whaling merchant Zephaniah. Jonathan wed Eunice Barnard (daughter of Robert) in 1747 in Meeting. And John wed Anna Coleman, similarly in 1749, she being daughter of Minister Elihu. One daughter Mary, married Jonathan Barnard, brother of Eunice in Meeting in 1756. At least four others married out, so that this family was partially Quaker at best. More than half of Major John's descendants were at this counting Quaker. It will be recalled that Deborah (Austin) Coffin the Major's wife was daughter of Sarah (Starbuck) Story-Austin-Varney, and thus Deborah was both aunt and first cousin to Jethro Starbuck.

The female line of this house went through three daughters. There was Hannah who wed Benjamin Gardner, son of Richard Jr. out-of-Meeting. Two of their family did join Meeting. Then there was Deborah who married the Universal Treasurer Thomas Macy and did raise a Quaker family. Finally, there was Elizabeth, who married Peter Gardner (Benjamin's brother). In this case they elected to join the Church and raise their family in it. The female lines from Major John probably pushed the Quaker element in his descent down to a 50% figure.

Jethro Starbuck's youngest Coffin uncle was Stephen Coffin (a Quaker like John and Deborah) who wed Puritan Mary Bunker, daughter of George, first of his name). Of their eight children with Nantucket descent, four were Quakers and three Congregationalists. Stephen Jr. was a Quaker Minister. He had married Experience Look, his cousin from the Vineyard, and raised five children in Meeting. The eldest of these was the unfortunate Shubael, who wed Priscilla Starbuck (the Clerk's daughter) in 1717 and was disowned for drunkenness in 1731. His brother Zephaniah spoke for Mary Macy, daughter of Elder John in Meeting in 1725. And after her early death he married Abigail Coleman (daughter of Captain Soloman). There were also two daughters who married. Hephzibah wed Robert Barnard in 1726 in Meeting. And Dinah wed Benjamin Starbuck, the clerk's son in 1730. After his early death, she remarried Abishai Folger in 1735 in Meeting. From all these lines came Quaker descent.

Stephen's second son was Paul Coffin who wed Mary Allen, daughter of the original Edward, out-of-Meeting. They had two children before Paul's death. His widow then married in Meeting in Newport one Clothier Pierce, a great merchant of that city by whom she had one Quaker son at least (and one who married on Nantucket in Meeting). Paul's son, Peter, married Deborah Hussey, daughter of Lawyer George in Meeting in 1738. They had a small Quaker family. Paul's daughter Mary married John Thurston in Newport in Meeting. One of their children later married back into Nantucket Meeting. About half this branch were in the Nantucket Quaker orbit.

Stephen Coffin also had six daughters. The eldest, Dionis, married Jacob Norton, son of Isaac of the Vineyard. They had six Puritan children with Nantucket descent. The second, Judith (as has been observed) wed Peter Folger (Eleizer's son) and at his death, Nathaniel Barnard Jr. in Meeting in 1709, as his third wife. And after his death, Judith married Stephen Wilcox in 1722. Her children were Quakers naturally. But Susannah, Judith's sister, joined the Puritan camp when she married Peleg Bunker, as did the next sister, Mehitable, who married Armstrong Smith (the first of that name on the Island). Two of Susannah's nine children joined the Meeting. One of Mehitable's four also did so. Stephen's fifth daughter, Anna, married Soloman Gardner, son of Richard Jr. and joined Friends in 1720. All her children were Friends - including in the midst of them, Minister David Gardner. Finally, Hephzibah married Samuel Gardner (as his first wife) just before the Monthly Meeting was established. She then died, leaving no children. About half of Stephen's descent were Quaker - that is including those in Newport. In other words, more Coffins were out-of-Meeting than in! This was not the case with the Gardner family - at least until the disownment of David Gardner seemed to sour many Gardners as far as Quakerism was concerned.

Jethro Starbuck could boast 42 straight first cousins living on Nantucket - most of them from his mother's Coffin side. And of course, he married a first cousin, Dorcas Gayer, daughter of his Aunt Dorcas (Starbuck) Gayer - of whom as Women's First Clerk, a fairly full account has already been given: and as well for the births and marriages of their seven children. They were the first couple to become Quakers as such on the Island. For over forty years they were host and hostess to many visiting Friends. His house, built about 1700 was moved to Milk Street in the 1720's.

Jethro Starbuck undertook 62 Meeting appointments, serving on the first Marriage Committee (and 12 others). In 1710, Jethro wrote to Quarterly Meeting a first time, and again in 1715, 1716 (twice), 1723, 1724, 1728, 1730, 1731 (twice), 1732 (thrice), 1734 (twice), 1735, 1736 (thrice), 1738 twice, 1741 and in 1742 (21 reports in 31 years time). He was asked to deal with Stephen Hussey (1717) and he attended Quarterly Meeting in 1718, 1719, 1720 (twice) 1722, 1725 (twice). At least once Jethro attended Yearly Meeting (1722). In 1719 he wrote a Minute of Transfer. In 1732 he became Chairman of the Overseers. In 1732 he succeeded his brother as Treasurer of the Meeting. In 1729 he had to do with fencing the old burial ground. (It had to be refenced in 1769 the year before Jethro died). In 1742 the Meeting appointed him Administrator of Nathaniel Gardner's estate. And in 1754 he served on the Arbitration Committee between David Gardner and Paul Bunker. Thus Jethro's career as Committee member lasted 45 years. He was 83 when he retired.

Not only were Jethro and Dorcas Elders, but so were two of their daughters - Sarah Macy, wife of Jabez: and Lydia Barney, wife of Benjamin. Sarah lived on until 1789, but Lydia died in 1751, four years after her mother. She undertook 19 appointments between 1737 and 1749. Her husband Benjamin Barney was a Newport Friend whom she married in 1722. He would marry again. Benjamin, who was also an Elder, would die in 1783. His and Lydia's children were key figures in the Meeting - allowing for reflected credit upon their grandfather. There was a son Benjamin Jr. who went briefly to Barrington in Nova Scotia. His eldest sister Sarah was a Minister - the first woman from Nantucket to visit Britain in the Ministry. Mary, the next married William Macy, son of Elder John. Abigail married Samuel Starbuck, son of Paul. Elizabeth married William Rotch, and Hephzibah married William Coffin, son of banker Benjamin.

Jethro's son William has been noted in the account of his Cousin Paul. Now two of William's cousins and their husbands - daughters and sons-in-law of Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. help fill in the role the first family played during the first half century and more of Nantucket Quakerism.

The first of these was Mary (Starbuck) Folger, the Universal Clerk's eldest daughter, who was born in 1692 and died in 1763, aged 74. Her husband was Jethro Folger, eldest son of John, Quaker (born in Edgartown) in 1689. He died in 1772, two years after his wife's centennial uncle, aged 83. They raised nine children, two who emigrated: one to Cape Cod, the other to Newport. Four predeceased their parents. Mary sat on 35 Marriage Committees between 1726 and 1755. When she died she left 58 descendants. Jethro undertook 78 appointments from 1719 to 1767 (48 years). He served on the Great Meeting House Committee in 1730 and on the Membership Committee in 1757. In 1732 Jethro wrote the Quarterly Epistle, a service which was repeated in 1741, 1742, 1745 and in 1751. In 1738 he went onto the Visiting Committee, a service specifically renewed in 1743. In 1754 he was a member of the Committee which launched the Commons Case, and was one of those asked to investigate the Starbuck claims. In 1758, it was the Military Fines Committee which claimed his attention. He was personally distrained twice for not paying the Military Tax in 1757. Jethro Folger served on the Captain John Waterman disownment case- and signed the disownment of Edmund Heath (both situations still to be discussed). But it would appear Jethro was not overly competent in money matters. His gross estate stood at £144. 5. 0d (debts £19. 4. 8d). The only item of real worth was his Bid which was evaluated at £23. 16. 6d. It is not even sure that he owned a house. Such financial modesty did not prevent the Meeting from asking him to urse Caleb Stratton to support his needy mother in 1740. The next year he was asked to take a collection on behalf of London Friends to Newport. Jethro's great service began in 1748 when he began to time the Meetings for worship. When Jethro died in 1772 he left 69 descendants, 11 more than had his wife.

The second of William Starbuck's cousins was like him a Minister, Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey, born in 1700 and dying in 1764 (age of her brother Paul at his death). She was married to Captain Silvanus Hussey in 1723 as his second wife. They had eight children, one of whom emigrated to Lynn, Massachusetts. (Salem Monthly Meeting). Three eventually were disowned, including one (the eldest son) in 1771 for having "married out" in 1743! Hephzibah probably inherited from her father the spiritual outlook of Mary Starbuck, the founder, her grandmother. Hephzibah served as Woman's Clerk and Treasurer of the Women's Meeting notably during the enlargement of the great Meeting House to seat 1,500 in 1749 and 2,000 in 1764. She looked after Eunice Gwinn in need at least three times. In 1762 she was made an overseer and in 1763 an Elder.

As early as 1726 she wrote the Women's Quarterly Report, done again in 1747 at least. She was noted as attending both the General and Select Sessions of Quarterly Meeting in 1745. From 1743 to 1753 Hephzibah sat on thirteen Marriage Committees.

Captain Silvanus Hussey was born in 1682 and died in 1767 aged 85. It was he who actually got the first ocean going spermaceti whale. He had married Abigail Brown, Puritan daughter of John 3rd, in 1712, out-of-Meeting. By her he had five children (all but one of whom joined Meeting eventually) Even so, Captain Silvanus built the first Meeting House in 1711 and enlarged it in 1716. In 1732 as builder of the great Saratoga Street House he was a Member in good standing.

Altogether, Silvanus undertook 35 appointments for the Meeting from 1730 to 1762 (in a 30 year span). His first formal assignment had to do with the great Meeting House. in 1740 he first attended Quarterly Meeting with "repeats" in 1757, 1759 (twice) 1760 (twice) and in 1761. He succeeded Joseph Marshall as Monthly Meeting Clerk in 1747 until 1759. Thus he was greatly involved in the Commons Case. In 1741 Silvanus served on the first of five Marriage Committees - last in 1754. In 1743 he joined the Visiting Committee, and in 1746 he advance Lydia Norton, a visitor, some travel money. In 1750 his assignment was to write Returning Minutes. In 1755 it was a Quarterly Report and there were 21 attestations for young Nantucket whalers to prove they were pacifists during the tension of the French and Indian war. He chaired the Military Fines Committee in 1756. In 1759 Silvanus was named Elder. He paid for repairs on advance on the Meeting House in 1759, and signed Jabez Macy's disownment paper in 1761.

Records of his business and civic life are fairly full as well. In 1713 Silvanus Hussey bought the Bristol which started the whale bonanza. In 1717 he built a fulling mill at Polpus - the year his father Stephen Hussey was put out of Meeting. In 1722 his account book began what eventually came to be known as Hussey and Co. (Nantucket and Lynn). A second account book was begun in 1735. In 1723 Silvanus got two whales, and evicted squatters from his Wesco lands at the head of the harbour. In 1726 he got Indians punished for stealing. But in 1727 he was defrauded by an Englishman. In 1728 Silvanus was on the town's Financial Committee, but was up in court in 1734 for making liquor illegally. In 1734 Silvanus was sued by Isaac Myrick, one major whaling financier for breach of contract. Yet in 1741 the Captain showed softness of heart in not evicting a tenant.

Captain Silvanus Hussey's house at the corner of Federal and Chestnut Streets, he bequeathed to his eldest son Obed, as the youngest Joseph had built his own house. (Joseph died a bachelor so we may suppose a blighted courtship.) Silvanus' estate was relatively large including land on Marthas Vineyard and Dartmouth. Shares in a new-built rope walk were also noticed. But above all, Captain Silvanus was careful to assign his soul to God.

Still two others of the "old Establishment" require special notice. They were Jethro Starbuck's ministering sister, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, and her husband, John Coleman Jr., both of whom died in 1762, though John was then 95 and Priscilla 86. John was Elder and head of Men's Meeting from 1708 to 1748. They raised eight children including the Ministers

Nathaniel Coleman and Elihu Coleman: and the Elders Jethro Coleman and Barnabas Coleman. One sister Priscilla (Coleman) Bunker, wife of the man disowned in the Commons Case, was also an Elder and later a Minister. Mary (Coleman) Russell, another daughter found herself in a similar position. Phoebe (Coleman) Folger was wife of Captain Barzillai Folger. The only lax Quaker in the lot was John Coleman 3rd. He would be disowned twenty years after his parents' death, for re-marrying out.

Priscilla served on 12 Marriage Committees from 1709 to 1725. In 1717 she wrote a Quarterly Report, and in 1741 she inherited the Clerkship of the Women's Meeting. Four years later, a niece Mehitable Pollard took on the job. In the Memorial Minute of 1762, special attention was paid to her good education, generous hospitality and her sense of historyl She and John left 138 descendents in the Meeting.

John Coleman Jr. began his Committee work in 1710 and finished off in 1731. He was at Quarterly Meeting in 1713, 1717, 1720, 1725 and 1731 and he sat on six Marriage Committees. John Coleman was a Select man as early as 1705. In 1707 he was asked to fetch up stray cattle. In 1711 he laid out farms at the South Shore. And in 1716 he repeated this activity. It would appear that in his case, the Meeting then absorbed the energies John had left.

It would seem that of the very active members in the first two-thirds of the century, the four-fifths were either actually Starbucks, or closely related to them by marriage. Of course Mary Starbuck, the founder, was born a Coffin. But the lack of leading Quakers bearing that patronymic is almost startling. Their showing is far worse than that of the Gardners. As for Jethro Starbuck, he was similar to a senior partner in an immensely successful commercial enterprise. But the enterprise of Nantucket Monthly Meeting moved downwards sharply from its peak in 1768 - that is - after celebrating its 60th anniversary. Probably Jethro was aware of this decline before he died. Jethro Folger certainly was. It was the enormous mass of accumulated momentum which swept the Meeting onward in an somewhat apparently unchanged condition. In reality the onset of the quarrel leading to American independence had its parallel movement in a general revolt of the Quaker youth on the Island - a revolt which was chiefly manifested by refusal to live the grey sober life without the amenities which increasing whaling wealth made available. The young people also proposed to regulate their own marital affairs. The consequence was wholesale disownment. Did the Meeting ever hesitate in cutting off its youth? Probably there were heart searchings. But by 1768 the Meeting was too big and too diverse to think of itself as one big family. Old Jethro Starbuck was a last leaf on an old outworn tree.

It will be recalled that in the first quarter century from 1708 to 1733 a total of 418 Meeting appointments were recorded of which 127 came in the last five years (or one third of the total). This tendency toward growth was marked by 156 appointments in the next five years so that so that the three decades read as follows: 1708-1718 - 88 appointments: 1718-1728 - 191 appointments: 1728-1738 - 293 appointments! This increased as follows: 1738-1748 - 413 appointments: 1748-1758 - 826 appointments. In fact, the second quarter century

netted 1,495 appointments, more than triple the first. And from 1758 to 1763 there were 576 appointments. In the thirty years from 1733 to 1763 (time of the large Meeting House before it was really enlarged) there were 2,071 appointments, five times the activity of the 1708-1733 period. In the first quarter century 238 appointments had to do with marriage (a little over half of the total). In the next quarter century these numbered 969 (a notable increase in proportion). In the fifteen years from 1748 to 1763 there were 948 marriage appointments in a total of 1,402 jobs given out. In other words, two thirds of the Meetings resources were occupied with the "marriage factory."

And there was a sharp increase in the number of weddings under the care of the Meeting from 1763 to 1768. Perhaps this is the moment to note what the situation was vis-a-vis marriage itself, particularly after 1758. First a word is in order as to the proportion of Friends who elected to marry in the Meeting in comparison to those who did not. In the 1708-1718 decade, nine couples married in - four Quakers married out - a high percentage of 44% of the ceremonies (22% of the personnel). From 1718 to 1728, twenty six couples stood up in Meeting - seven individual Friends did not. The decline of proportion from 44% to 26% - and the two Quakers who married each other out-of-Meeting were later recovered. From 1728 to 1738 forty nine regular Quaker weddings took place. Eleven Friends married out - number 13 when partners names are regarded: a decline from 23% to 22%. In the case of the two couples who were both Quakers, they joined Meeting eventually (though the children of one marriage seem not to have been listed). From 1738 to 1748 there were 65 regular Quaker weddings, while 21 others involved one Member of Meeting (two again involved both partners as Members - and the recovery pattern was exactly as it was in the previous decade. The proportion of out-going rose from 22% to 32%. Then in the 1748-1758 period, one hundred and sixteen regular marriages took place, while 22 Friends married out - five to other members. One couple was recovered. Another moved to Dartmouth. In a third case, the children were not listed. But in fact the proportion declined from 23% to 19% where it stayed for the five years from 1758 to 1763. There sixty four regular marriages were matched by 12 outside marriages - only one, involving two members, who were both disowned eventually. After 1763 the proportion of those marrying out rose steeply as will be shown. Altogether a total of 107 Quakers on Nantucket married out on the Island in the first 55 years. None of these were disowned for this except the first - and her case was definitely bigamy. Meanwhile 736 Quakers on the Island had married in the Meeting according to the discipline: over seven times as many. There were 51 marriages in the 1758-1763 period in Meeting - which considered in connection with the 25 in the 1756-1758 period allows for a fifth grouping of weddings up to the end of 1761. Here 128 people stood up (same as in 1750-1756 grouping - in an equivalent time space.) Ten appeared a second time (decrease of three). None made it a third time (decrease of one). Four were off-Islanders (up three) twenty seven joined Meeting by marriage under its care (up three). Four couples were childless (down two). Only one couple emigrated directly (same). A total of 297 children were born to the other 57 couples involved (increase of 27). 13 couples reached their Golden Anniversary (decrease of two). Like Like the fourth grouping this was strongly nativist, and if anything stronger in its quota of offspring

By 1761 there was evidence that the Meeting had decided not to allow Members to marry-out, and in fact to bring to accounting those who did. A few, in fact, escaped the new severity. Ironically they were Friends whose

no one then living and active remembered their past connection. In the spring of 1761, Joseph Marshall Jr. the schoolteacher, became Monthly Meeting Clerk, following upon a short term of Banker Benjamin Coffin, who had in turn, inherited the post from Captain Silvanus Hussey. Joseph's father had been clerk from 1733 to 1747, dying in 1748. Joseph's mother, the worthy Abigail (Hussey) Howes-Marshall would died in 1763. One half-brother, Benjamin Marshall was an active Friend. Another, Thomas Howes, was lost at sea in 1739. Whatever, Joseph Marshall Jr. was a strong reforming character: typical of the new age.

Also in 1761, Mehitable Pollard turned over the Clerkship of the Women's Meeting to Mary (Gardner) Gardner, a post she held until 1768 when David Gardner's situation encouraged her to retire. It was not until into the Revolution that Joseph Marshall gave up.

In 1762 the first of a number of special committees was named to police the youth galleries in the Meeting. By this time those galleries must have been crowded with older children and youths whose interest was more in each other than in the vast sea of plain coats and bonnets spread out under them. No doubt certain incidents seemed very funny to the crowded benches upstairs. Possibly they resented the censures of Elizabeth Wilkinson at General Meeting time in 1762 and were deliberately noisy. Benjamin Coffin, the senior schoolmaster was chairman of the first committee composed of Jonathan Gardner, Jonathan Macy, Christopher Starbuck and Joseph Marshall. The women put Susannah (Gorham) Paddack-Folger in charge of their committee, with Lydia (Macy) Coleman, Lois (Gorham) Macy and Mary (Barney) Macy to work with them. A month later, these four were augmented by Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham, Huldah (Hussey) Bunker-Barney, Rachel (Hussey) Coleman and Phoebe (Folger) Marshall, the Clerk's wife. The ratio five to seven was probably in order as some older male youths were off whaling. Whatever these worthies did, it led many of the young adolscents to decide when they would set up homes in another decade or so, it would be outside the Meeting.

Before the year was out, six other women Friends were involved: Jedidah Gardner, (wife of Robert): Mary Swain (wife of Francis) and Rachel Worth (wife of Silvanus) - later Patience Gardner (wife of Jonathan), Mary Gardner (the Women's Clerk) and Theodate Gardner, (wife of Reuben).

In addition, in 1763 the first "overseers" as such were put to work. Already "apologies" had been made. Thomas Barnard Jr. declared he was sorry to have married Elizabeth Coker (of uncertain origin) out-of-Meeting. He was all of 17 years old. This marriage seemed to produce no offspring. And Thomas would marry again in Meeting. The second apology came from Deborah (Coffin) Gardner, aged 19 who married a Congregationalist Abel Gardner Jr. out-of-Meeting in 1761. She emigrated to North Carolina with her parents William Coffin and Priscilla (Paddack) Coffin (who got into marital trouble themselves in 1740). William had already apologized for letting Deborah marry Abel in his house, as before noticed.

Than in 1762 John Waterman (who had joined Meeting in 1756, coming from Westerley, Rhode Island) was up for "illegally cohabiting as man and wife with Mary Beard." John's first wife Elizabeth, Mary's sister had died leaving him with minor children. Their aunt stepped in, and John fell in love with her. But they couldn't marry as the archaic mosiac code on prohibiting intermarriage with sisters-in-law was in force. William Coffin (who better?) and Jonathan Macy wrote the disownment of John Waterman and Mary Beard, his

unions - Richard Macy, Jethro Folger, Benjamin Coffin, William Clasby and Philip Pollard all signed the paper. Yet there was no legal remedy possible.

In contrast to such incredible narrow-mindedness, Nantucket Monthly Meeting paid no attention at all to the fact another member, Susannah Stratton had an illegitimate child by one Benjamin Bunker (who was whipped for this action by the town). Benjamin's father Reuben Bunker, was in fact a Nominal Quaker member. And Thomas Barnard's apology for "sin" in marrying-out was "spread in the Minutes." It would seem that violating a legalistic code was counted worse than the spirit in which things were done.

Two more apologies followed in the Spring of 1763. Robert Coffin "being unacquainted with the rules of Friends" expressed sorrow that his daughter Hephzibah had married out-of-Meeting in his house. She wed Timothy Jackson and then apologized herself. Robert's apology was written into the Minutes but not read publicly at a First Day Meeting as were more important acknowledgements. Then Paul Hussey, son of lawyer George excused himself from an unnamed "evil" which he committed because of "unwatchfulness." Was this addiction to the bottle? The excuse was read publicly.

Phoebe Bunker, daughter of Abishai was up next for marrying George Bunker, out-of-Meeting, he son of John (non-Quaker). With her was Sarah (Folger) Gardner-Coffin, daughter of Abishai, widow of Captain Hezekiah, who had re-married another member (nominally) so Robert Barker, out-of-Meeting. Phoebe joined Hephzibah Jackson in eating Humble Pie. Sarah frankly refused this, and so was disowned just after the 55th anniversary of Monthly Meeting.

During the five years from 1763 to 1768 no less than 31 cases of dealing took place, resulting in eleven disownments and twenty recoveries. Ten were men, twenty-one were women. Only five were not young. Two cases related to other Meetings. All but two cases had to do with sex and marriage irregularities. However, a total of sixty-nine regular Quaker weddings took place during these five years (while twenty-one members married out). Details of these statistics will be dealt with later. But at this point it is interesting to observe that dealing and disownment activities were assuming very important proportions as compared to the first fifty-five years of Meeting activity.

One case of technical dealing deserves attention here. This was in 1765 when Joseph Rotch was refused a Minute of Transfer to Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. On the face of it, Nantucket could not bear "suddenly" to lose the greatest (then) of her merchant princes. They did relent finally in 1766 to give Joseph Rotch Jr. a Minute to go. Joseph Jr. unfortunately died in England in another year, followed by his mother Love (Macy) Rotch. So finally it was only Joseph Sr. and his son Benjamin Rotch (later to marry into the English aristocracy out-of-Meeting) who got the Transfer in 1768. Joseph Sr. was back on Nantucket, when during the Revolution the British burned him out - but he re-emigrated to Dartmouth the year of his death. With Joseph Jr. in 1766, went a young Philadelphian, William Brown who had come to Nantucket in 1765 seeking his fortune. He would return to marry on the Island, still later to return - and then to re-emigrate to Wilmington, Delaware. Brown's wife was a daughter of Benjamin Barney, thus making him a sort of brother-in-law to William Rotch.

Also in 1766, Benjamin Taber of Dartmouth Meeting (and Fairhaven fame) then a widower, appeared to marry a second Nantucket wife. The wedding was

on the Island. While Minutes to Move to Dartmouth were being held up, William Hunt, cousin of John Woolman, then living in New Garden, North Carolina appeared with Zachariah Dicks of Deep River Monthly Meeting nearby. Possibly they criticized Nantucket's pre-occupation with retaining wealthy Members (who might well set up a rival organization on the Acushnet River?) In any case, no Returning Minute was granted the two Southerners.

The Autumn Quarterly Meeting made bold to tell Nantucket that the two worthies were to be given all the customary Quaker courtesies. So back Hunt went, with another Carolina Friend Thomas Thornborough, and for good measure Aaron Vail of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting (New York) but Nantucket was not to be bullied. No Returning Minute was issued. A month later, Hunt and his two companions returned once again to a bleak wintry Island - leaving again empty-handed.

In the Spring of 1767 Sarah Barney travelled to Long Island, there to meet Hunt and to work out some sort of compromise. Hunt now wrote a letter to Nantucket Meeting which was read - but no Returning Minute was drafted.

At Yearly Meeting time, William Rotch reported that the Hunt controversy had reopened the Commons Case and its bad blood on the Island. Quarterly Meeting now leaped at the opportunity of sending still another Committee to deal with Island matters. Thomas Steere was Chairman, Moses Farnum, Ephriam Congdon, Thomas Aldrich, William Buffington, William Redwood and Philip Tripp were asked, as a new Committee to get to work. Still "the want of a general freedom" to give Hunt a Returning Minute still perplexed Yearly Meeting in 1769. Benjamin Arnold, Obediah Wheeler and Edward Shove were thereupon asked to join Steere's Committee. It was at this point that Rachel Wilson of Kendall Monthly Meeting in old England was drawn to try to solve both the revived Commons quarrel and the Hunt Minute Case. With her went to Nantucket the same John Pemberton (Israel's brother) who had seen Samuel Fothergill onto the Island. At Yearly Meeting they had talked long with William Rotch and Jonathan Macy and as well with Jonathan Hussey of Dartmouth (who could understand Nantucket perhaps more objectively than most Friends,) Rachel Wilson also talked with Rachel (Hussey) Coleman, Jonathan's sister, and with Abigail (Starbuck) Howes-Way, Nathaniel's daughter.

Finally, as Moses Brown (for whom the school in Providence is named) later wrote, Rachel Wilson persuaded him and Governor Stephen Hopkins "to go and attend to the business" at Quarterly Meeting. William Hussey, half-brother of Jonathan and of Rachel Coleman, was also persuaded to let the Yearly Meeting Committee, augmented by Moses Brown and Stephen Hopkins, to try to settle the case officially on the Island. Rachel Wilson herself attended the General Meeting for worship in 1769, staying with William Rotch. His sister-in-law, Minister Sarah Barney, being much in evidence. On fifth-day, Rachel preached on the text "reconcile thyself to thy brother first before thou offerest thy gift at the altar." She dined with Jonathan Macy, had tea with Sarah Barney, and attended the Select Meeting the next day, with dinner following at Samuel Starbuck's house. On First Day she got the Commons business fixed up after Meeting. Then two days later, Rachel Wilson got the Hunt Minute problem worked out - and departed on Fifth day. She wrote "As a certificate for the Friend seemed rather out of date then, they could be brought to acknowledge that both parties had missed it and beg of the Quarterly Meeting to pass it by."

It seemed Farnham, Congdon, Aldrich, Tripp, Buffington and Wheeler missed out their visit, thus only half a dozen interfering Friends descended on the Island. They achieved an agreement to leave the question of double-stocking of a half-shares of land to the Committee. As Moses Brown wrote, the Committee "In the Fall attended, heard the claims on both sides, examined the record, stated the case, and gave decision which terminated the case: the stock on one side withdrawn and the person was acquitted of surreptiously getting a deed on record by which one party claimed, for it appeared the opposite parties' papers were also recorded by the same person." Does this have reference to the 1734 discovery of Mary Starbuck's unrecorded Deed? Does Benjamin Coffin come in for oblique criticism for writing up the case for both parties? Moses Brown further wrote, "It was my lot to examine the record and in so doing a worthy man, then a Minister (Elihu) Coleman was cleared of the charge made against him, which fully paid me for all my trouble and care in the business." And Jabez Macy was restored to Membership.

Right after the visit of Rachel Wilson, the Meeting appointed Richard Mitchell, Jonathan Macy, William Coffin and William Rotch to persuade the Proprietary to deed in fee simple the areas on which the Meeting House and burial ground stood. The original grant in 1711, fifty-eight years before served as precedent. In fact 35 years before a petition to that effect must not have been completed. In any case, it would appear that Jethro Starbuck lived to know that not only was the legal situation regarding the Great Nantucket Meeting House was in order, but the Commons Case apparently was resolved and his son-in-law, Jabez Macy restored to Membership. In addition, the William Hunt Minute situation was put in order and the way opened for other Friends to quit Nantucket as Joseph Rotch had done. In fact in 1771, the second great migration began - this time to North Carolina - Barrington Township and its experiment having faded away to all intents and purposes.

Just as the Colonial Committees of Correspondence were giving instruction not to buy tea , in the Colonies, it was reported that the Proprietary had deeded two and a half acres whose "butts and bounds" had been survived by by a joint Meeting Proprietary Committee. The Deed was spread in the Minutes and signed by Peter Barnard (son-in-law of the late Nathaniel Starbuck Jr.) and William Coffin. Benjamin Coffin countersigned the document as Clerk of the Proprietary.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

NATHANIEL COLEMAN OR HOW THE NANTUCKET QUAKER MINISTER WENT OFF TO SHEPHERD THE NANTUCKET COLONY IN NEW YORK.

Nathaniel Coleman, 1697-1783, was, according to Kezia Fanning the Minister of Nantucket Monthly Meeting from about 1720 until he emigrated to New York in 1776. He served on no less that 70 different assignments given him by Nantucket Friends in that half century including attending Yearly Meeting at least six times, and in 1750 travelling in the Ministry to Great Britain - an equivalent to the Quaker of the Muslim visit to Mecca.

The Coleman name on the Island goes back to 1675 when Nanthaniel's great grandfather Thomas settled on the Island. At that time, Nathaniel's grandfather John married Joanna Folger, daughter of the Baptist preacher. An older brother of John's, Joseph Coleman had already (in 1672) wed Ann Bunker, sister of William. But Ann died in 1675 leaving only one daughter of that name - so that the five Coleman branches on Nantucket all descend from Nathaniel's grandfather. (Anne Coleman Jr. married Edward Allen, the first of that name on the Island).

Nathaniel was, in fact the eldest son of John Coleman Jr. and Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, both Petitioner Founder Members of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Uncle Thomas Coleman married a Puritan widow Jane (Childs) Challenge. They had four sons - one a member of the Congregational Church. Uncle Isaac Coleman married also an off-Islander, Ann Reynolds, and had but one child, a daughter. Uncle Jeremiah Coleman married Sarah Pratt, a first cousin - her mother was a daughter of Peter Folger. They had three sons, one of whom, Enoch Coleman, married into the Meeting in 1748 - and was disowned for "robbery" in 1770, the year of Jethro Starbuck's death. One of his two sisters, Lydia, became the second wife of Minister William Starbuck in 1751. The other three siblings stayed out of Meeting. Uncle Soloman Coleman joined Meeting in 1711, by marrying Mary Macy, sister of Elder John. She died in 1715 leaving one daughter, so that in 1718, Soloman remarried choosing Deliverance Swett of Hampton Monthly Meeting (whom he married in Meeting in 1718. They had eight more Quaker children, including six sons. Thus Nathaniel Coleman had thirteen male Coleman first cousins of whom six were not Quakers. He also had four brothers making a total of eighteen Coleman males in his generation. Nathaniel was the eldest of these.

When Nathaniel Gardner, Sarah's Ministering son died in England in 1714, Nathaniel Starbuck (Nathaniel Coleman's Uncle) turned to Minister Stephen Coffin Jr. to help him in running the Meeting. When Stephen died suddenly in 1725, the Clerk turned to his 28 year old nephew, Nathaniel Coleman. He had already attended Quarterly Meeting in 1719, 1721 (twice) 1722 (twice) and had written a report in 1720. This service was performed again in 1726 and in 1727. Then in 1729, aged 33, Nathaniel married. His choice fell on a widow Mary (Folger) Gardner, daughter of Judith Wilcox, widow of Nathaniel Gardner Jr. (for whom when he had married Mary, Nathaniel had served on his Marriage Committee). That was in 1725. Their two children joined his household. Three others were born to Mary and Nathaniel Coleman. All told, theirs was a small family. Nathaniel Gardner 3rd (step-son), married Ruth Hussey, daughter of Lawyer George, in 1744 and had eight children. Nathaniel 3rd was an active

Committee Friend. In 1747 Mary Gardner married Elisha Coffin and went to Barrington as his second wife. They had five children lost to the Society of Friends as it turned out. In 1749, Elizabeth Coleman, Nathaniel's own daughter, married Samuel Ray Jr. and had four children before her early death in 1758. These were also lost to the Meeting. Nathaniel's elder son John married Anna Davis, daughter of Margaret (Coffin) Davis-Bunker, granddaughter of the late "Nope" and Hope Coffin, who then joined Meeting. They also went to Barrington. Their two sons were lost to Quakerism. Nathaniel's younger son Benjamin was killed in 1756 aged 21 when a French sloop shot into his vessel. Nathaniel lost his wife in 1763, so lived out a twenty year widower's stance - somehow not infrequently encountered on Nantucket.

In 1729, Nathaniel was put on the Meeting's Visiting Committee. He continued to write Quarterly Reports in 1732, 1734 (twice)and in 1735. He attended Quarterly Meeting in 1744, 1747, 1750, 1751, 1754, 1767 (twice) and 1768 (thrice). A visit in the Ministry took him to Philadelphia in 1734, and to New England Yearly Meeting in 1736, 1741, 1742, 1745 and in 1750. He was again in Philadelphia in 1746. In between there was service on 26 Marriage Committees. In 1750, Nathaniel helped write Returning Minutes. In 1762 he was again on the Visiting Committee. By 1770, retirement seemed to be the order of the day. But at the age of 79, Nathaniel left with his son John for Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, New York - to farm it was said. Four years later John was disowned by Nantucket Monthly Meeting and Anna got a Minute to settle in New York. Meanwhile, Nathaniel returned at least once in the Ministry in 1778. And in 1783 aged 87, he moved his Certificate back to Nantucket, there to die and be buried. He must have come back to his step-sons' home. For who else was left - except his brother Elihu? - or sisters Phoebe (wife of Captain Barzillai Folger) and Priscilla (wife of Samuel Bunker)?

Nantucket Monthly Meeting never rose to its potential standard in sending out Visiting Ministers. As far as the Minutes go, only one Minue was issued in the 1708-1733 period, though it is known more than one trip was made. In the 1733-1758 period seven such Minutes were issued, three to Nathaniel Coleman (one jointly with his brother Elihu). Elihu also got a Minute to visit Sandwich, Monthly Meeting in 1758. Two Minutes were given to Minister Richard Mitchell to travel "westwards" probably to Philadelphia (1738, 1757). And one woman Friend, Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard, went in 1757 to the Salem Quarterly Meeting and the area from which her parents had come. Six Minutes were issued between 1758 and 1763. Elihu Coleman went to Long Island in 1762, as Sarah Barney went to England. (She had visited in Philadelphia in 1761). Also in 1761 Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard had visited "eastern parts" that is, the frontier area of Maine. William Rotch began his visits in 1760 to the Salem Quarterly Meeting area, and in 1762 to Philadelphia with Jonathan Macy.

That half the Travelling Minutes in the 1758-1763 period went to women Friends gives clear evidence that the distaff half was at last insisting on equality with the men. Not only was the Women's Preparative Meeting set up on the Island (in 1762), but in Newport at Quarterly Meeting the women began to keep records as of the Autumn of 1763. In 1764 representatives to the Women's Yearly Meeting were first named. In fact only in 1766 did the women drop the

"preparative" which meant they then stood equal to the Man's Yearly Meeting after that. For 105 years the New England Quaker men alone really counted - as a Yearly Meeting for 83 years. Is it so surprising hardly a woman from Nantucket got to the Mainland functions until the 1760's? Probably Nantucket women Friends played a leading role - if not the leading role in bringing about this glaringly needed reform.

It would appear that the women took the initiative at Quarterly Meeting to convene the General Women's Meeting in 1763 after the Select Meeting (to which in theory at least they had access). Obviously this was a better arrangement than what had come before. The men followed suit with their General Meeting in a few years' time. The fact Gideon Freeborn (Susannah's father) left his house to accommodate visiting Women Friends, and the additional fact that Governor Benedict Arnold had left money to promote the transport of women Friends, now allowed them to appear in greater numbers.

In the Summer of 1763 the 19th person to get a Travelling Minute from Nantucket Monthly Meeting, did so, she being Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard, who felt that she should finish off down East - including the Barrington "indulged" Meeting. Judith (Gardner) Barnard, Elder, and daughter to the man who got the first Minute ever issued by Nantucket Monthly Meeting, received the 20th to go with Mary. In 1766 Sarah Barney procurred a Minute to visit "western parts" with Comfort Hoag, her companion to Britain. This visit probably into Virginia or even North Carolina. In any case they were at it for eight or nine months.

The 22nd Travelling Minute in the Ministry request came from Priscilla Bunker, Nathaniel's sister who had recently begun speaking in the Ministry at that time, and had in mind visiting within the compass of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting in 1768. This was about the time Sarah Barney contacted William Hunt on her way back from her big trip "westwards." Meanwhile, Priscilla Bunker developed a "stop in her mind" about visiting on the Cape, and so handed back her Travelling Minute unused.

In 1770, Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Women's Friends got a favorable ruling that they could disown - with or without male consultation. This fascinating exercise seemed to absorb further travelling in the Ministry until 1773. The flow which looked so promising from 1758 to 1768 practically dried up after that. But in 1773, Benjamin Barney undertook a trip to New Garden (North Carolina) accompanied by William Starbuck (son of Thomas, grandson of the late Jethro). This probably meant that William Rotch's father-in-law had come out in the Ministry and felt concerned for those Nantucket Friends who had emigrated to New Garden. The next year Joseph Mitchell, son of Minister Richard was given a Minute as an Elder to travel to Flushing Monthly Meeting (possibly as a companion to a Travelling Minister not noted in the Minutes), the 25th Friend for such a Minute - and the first recorded as being returned. This was apparently the last such issued before Nathaniel, John and Anna Coleman emigrated in 1776.

The Revolutionary War shut down travelling to some extent. In one sense Nathaniel Coleman was going to Nine Partners as a Minister who felt that the Nantucketers in that place needed care - much as Benjamin Barney felt about the Nantucketers in North Carolina. The year 1771 has been noted as that initiating

the latter migration. That to New York had earlier origins. But the mid-18th century families who went and came back from New York apparently had little to do with the sizeable Nantucket migration into the Hudson River area which began in 1772.

In the Spring of that year, Elihu Bunker, aged 24, and his wife Phoebe (Starbuck) Bunker, aged 20(he son of Samuel the miller, she daughter of Joseph) asked for a transfer to "western parts." Also Reuben Macy, aged 25 son of Francis, grandson of Thomas, joined in the enterprise. His was apparently an exploratory trip. Probably his wife Anna (Barnard) Macy, daughter of Robert, was not overeager to leave. In any case he came back. Anna died in 1779. Reuben was disowned in 1784, and it would appear that at least his youngest son emigrated to Hudson, New York, for he died there an adolescent in 1788. Next Alexander Moores, son of Thomas, (non-Quaker), who joined Meeting in 1763 by marrying Elizabeth Macy, daughter of Robert, granddaughter of Thomas, got a Minute as did his wife. Alexander went on ahead only to die unexpectedly, so Elizabeth explained to Meeting she was delayed in probating his estate, which followed the Minute of Transfer which she had procured.

Then in the Autumn of 1772, Thomas Barnard, aged 63, son of non-Quaker Stephen (deceased) asked for a transfer, as did his wife Sarah (Hoag) Barnard, aged 62. She had come to Nantucket in 1735 from Hampton, Massachusetts, (being a cousin of Sarah (Hoag) Worth-Meade. Already, two of their children had been disowned: Mary (in 1767) for marrying Jethro Folger Jr., out-of-Meeting: and Benjamin (in 1766) reason not given. A third son, Thomas, had apologised for marrying Elizabeth Coker out-of-Meeting, as earlier noted. He and two other siblings, Valentine and Judith (wife of Tristram Russell in 1772) would all emigrate in 1773 to New York. By that time, Thomas had married Ruth Macy, daughter of Zaccheus, the historian. And Valentine had wed Anna Coffin, daughter of Peleg, a Congregationalist who had lived in Barrington, Nova Scotia. Her grandfather was Bartlett Coffin of the Vineyard. In fact this whole family emigrated, except one son, Stephen, who had the misfortune to be lost at sea in 1772. His widow Hephzibah (Paddack) Barnard, who joined Meeting when they wed in 1762, re-married out in 1775. Only one daughter (who never married) remained a member of Meeting. She was Ruth Barnard, dying in 1848, aged 82. Ironically, Thomas Barnard, her grandfather, was a great grandson of Captain John Gardner the bitter anti-Quaker magistrate.

At the same time, Thomas and Sarah Barnard procured Minutes. Abigail (Folger) Gardner, wife of Benjamin (both ex-Barringtonites) applied as well. No record of his application is given so her request may well have been withdrawn. She was a lively women as her later controversy with Nantucket Meeting would prove.

When the younger Barnards departed they brought Barnabas Bunker, Elihu's youngest brother. But he would return to Nantucket in four years' time to marry and settle back on the Island. Meanwhile in 1774 Priscilla (Bunker) Macy, sister of Elihu and Barnabas, emigrated to New York with her husband, Abraham Macy Jr., whom she had married in 1761. In this case they went with a number of children. Often it was only with an infant or two. Still a fourth sibling, Silas Bunker, left in 1778 with his wife Deborah (Bunker) Bunker and six children. (Granddaughter of Richard Macy). The New York transfers seemed to be made rather indiscriminately to Nine Partners or to Oblong Monthly Meeting. Probably these were sorted out when the emigrants arrived.

Then in 1774 William Bunker, aged 24, recently married to Miriam Bunker (he son of Jonathan, grandson of Peleg, she daughter of Abishai, granddaughter of Samuel the Quaker miller), asked for Minutes to Oblong Monthly Meeting. They were joined by Joseph Worth Jr. aged 45, and Judith (Starbuck) Worth, aged 40, his wife, (daughter of William). They had been residents of Barrington Township in Nova Scotia. And they were joined by their four nearly grown children: Jethro, aged 20: Eunice, aged 18: Matilda, aged 16, and Charles aged 13. In 1775 Joseph's brother, Thomas Worth, then aged 39 and his second wife Judith (Swain) Barnard-Worth, aged 34, and their two minor children moved to Oblong Monthly Meeting with as well his younger son of his first wife, Barzillai, aged 13. Interestingly, none of Judith's three children by her first marriage left the Island, (ages 9 to 13), but Thomas' niece, Abial Swain, aged 19 (daughter of Silvanus, granddaughter of Caleb) elected to go. After five years, however, Abial was back on the Island. Was it homesickness? In any case she never married, but lived on until 1828, a spinster, then aged 73. For some reason, Thomas Worth's transfer proved not to be in order, so that William Botch and Joseph Marshall had to write Oblong Monthly Meeting to straighten things out.

Before 1774 was out, John Macy, aged 26 and his wife Bethiah (Cartwright) Macy, aged 24, got transfers to Oblong Monthly Meeting. John was son of the late Robert, grandson of Treasurer Thomas. Bethiah was daughter of non-Friend Hazadiah Cartwright. With them went two small children. Already John's sister Elizabeth Mooers was settled in New York. And then they would be joined directly by Eunice Macy, Robert's sister, aged 18. The next year, Robert's mother Abigail (Barnard) Macy, aged 64: and daughters Abigail, aged 25 and Mary; aged 20; joined the migration to Oblong. Six months later, but still in 1775 another daughter Judith (Macy) Stratton, aged 37, and her husband, Benjamin Stratton, also aged 37 (son of Caleb), joined the migration with their four minor children. Only three of Robert Macy's siblings stayed behind on the Island.

Also leaving for Oblong in 1775 was Francis Jenkins, 27 year old son of Minister Joseph, who would be joined by his wife, Phoebe (Gardner) Jenkins, aged 23, (daughter of the late Abishai), and their infant daughter in 1776. Phoebe's sister, Lydia Gardner, aged 13, went with them as she was an orphan. Their mother it should be pointed out had been a sister to Robert Macy, so in fact, this was an extention of the departure of that clan. Also in 1776, Minister Joseph Jenkins and his second wife Ruth (Barnard) Clark-Jenkins and their two adolescent daughters, emigrated to Oblong Monthly Meeting.

A last departure in 1775 for Oblong was Francis Clark, aged 27, and his wife Mary (Gardner) Clark, aged 26, and their three minor children. His mother, Ruth (Barnard) Clark-Jenkins, was the wife of the Minister Joseph, noted directly above. Mary Clark's brother, Elder Seth Gardner, would emigrate in 1779, with his wife Sarah (Ray) Gardner (daughter of the original Samuel) and five of their ten children. One other stayed on Nantucket. One was disowned in 1775. Three others had preceded their parents by emigrating in 1774, 1776 and 1777. Noah who left in 1774, seemed not to have got a Minute. He was 18 then. Moses who left in 1776 also was aged 18. He was then apprenticed to Abraham Macy (who had gone, it will be recalled, two years before). In 1777, Miriam their sister who married David Bunker Jr. in 1770, left. She was then 27. He had been disowned as they married out - but she had apologised. Again no Minute of Departure seems to have been made. Anna, who was disowned in 1775 for, of all things - "robbery" - apparently left the Island soon afterwards. Perhaps the kindest interpretation was that Anna was a kleptomaniac - a condition not understood as pathological in 1775. She was then aged 21.

Another migrant to New York (Nine Partners Monthly Meeting) was Abishai Coffin, aged 28, son of Tristram, grandson of "Nope", who had married out-of-Meeting in 1769, and also been forgiven. Abishai's wife Sarah was a daughter of John Long. His background was not strongly Quaker for three of his sisters were already disowned for marrying out, and a fourth would follow suit in 1779. Abishai Coffin left in 1774.

Transfers to Saratoga Monthly Meeting followed in 1775. Daniel Folger Jr. aged 39, and his wife Judith (Worth) Folger, aged 36 (daughter of Christopher), got Minutes there in 1775 which included their six minor children. Two of Judith's sisters would eventually follow them there. At the same time, Benjamin Starbuck Jr., who had married a strong Congregationalist, Hephzibah Bunker, (daughter of William) in 1754 got a Minute to go. After the war, his aged, but sprightly mother, Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck-Folger, daughter of Minister Stephen, widow of the State Representative, Abishai Folger, would join him there with a half-brother and half-sister.

A Vineyarder, Samuel Coffin, then at "Pleasant River", probably in the New York Province, also asked for a transfer in 1775. Samuel was son of Tristram, who had been head of the Meeting in Edgartown. In any case in 1784 he and his wife , Elizabeth (Gardner) Coffin, (daughter of the late Jonathan) were disowned. They had moved irregularly without presenting their certificates. At least this would appear to have been the case. And most of their ten children were lost to Quakerism.

Also in 1775, Benjamin Worth Jr., asked for a Minute to Nine Partners Monthly Meeting. He was a promising young man (grandson of Ministers Richard and Sarah Worth - himself appearing in the Ministry), aged 27. His wife, Phoebe (Coffin) Worth, aged 24, was a granddaughter of Elihu Coleman. They left with three minor children. But in 1791 the family returned to Nantucket. There were ten children in their household then. It is probable that their return was not unconnected with the death of Phoebe's grandfather Elihu Coleman in 1789. Nantucket had need of a "preacher" to occupy the place once held by her great-uncle Nathaniel Coleman.

Another departure in 1775 was that of William Coffin, aged 45, son of banker Benjamin and his second wife, Lydia (Coleman) Coffin, aged 32, who got a Minute to Saratoga Monthly Meeting to east in New York (where his gravestone is still in evidence). With them went three minor sons by his first wife (grandsons of Benjamin Barney) and two children by Lydia. One older daughter Hephzibah, aged 13 in 1773, had gone to live with her aunt Dorcas (Barney) Brown and William Brown (associate of Joseph Rotch) in Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Another older sister, Sarah aged 13 in 1775, stayed on Nantucket, possibly with her Barney grandparents. Their youngest brother Griffin Coffin, (a first cousin of Lucretia (Coffin) Mott) would return to marry on Nantucket in 1794. We know that William and Lydia left with their family as General Meeting finished in 1775 - as Kezia (Coffin) Fanning recorded this in her journal. And they departed with William Swain Jr. (disowned in 1773) and his second wife Mary (Pollard) Swain, aged 44 with one small daughter. No record of a Minute for Mary Swain appears.

Two sisters, Hephzibah Gwinn, aged 25, and Elizabeth Gwinn, aged 23 got Transfers in 1775 to Nine Partners. Their father, Jonathan Gwinn was disowned later that year for bankruptcy. In 1776 his wife Elizabeth (Coleman) Gwinn (daughter of Captain Soloman) got a Minute to Leave taking with her (and her disowned husband) the three other children. With them went Philip Stratton, aged 26. His brother Benjamin had gone earlier that year to Oblong Monthly

leave with her. The Strattons were mostly marginal Members. Half of the eight children and their father had been disowned.

Early in 1776, Paul Coffin, aged 34, and his wife Susannah (Bunker) Coffin, aged 31, asked for Transfers to Nine Partners Monthly Meeting to include their six minor children. Paul was son of the late Zephanniah, grandson of Minister Stephen. His wife Susannah was sister to William who had emigrated in 1774 to Oblong Monthly Meeting (already a sister Hephzibah had emigrated to North Carolina with her husband Zephaniah Coffin, Jr.) In fact, four of Zephaniah Sr's family emigrated all told - while all eight of Jonathan Bunker's children followed suit.

In the Spring of 1776, Francis Coleman, aged 45, son of Captain Soloman indicated he was considering leaving for Oblong Monthly Meeting, with his wife Abigail (Bunker) Coleman, (daughter of Samuel) with their seven children. Joining Francis Coleman in this statement was Seth Gardner, one of Nantucket's leading public Friends - well known in Newport. Seth Gardner, aged 50 was son of the late Elder Jonathan and of Overseer Patience (Bunker) Gardner. Seth's wife Sarah (Ray) Gardner was a prominent Committee Friend. They had ten children, four of whom had emigrated: another married. It would seem that Nantucket Meeting now became alarmed lest the prospect of war which might make life so difficult would lead to the migration of hundreds of Friends to undertake movement to brighter spots. Teacher Peleg Folger and one other Friend were able to prevail upon these two solid Friends not to leave - at least not immediately. Francis Coleman never left, but only two of his eight children ever married. Was this part of the cost they paid for staying? It would seem so. Seth Gardner eventually did go - in 1779 with five of his children, as was noted earlier in this chapter.

Two young women who next asked for Transfers probably to Oblong Monthly Meeting can be identified. The first was Miriam (Coffin) Hobbs, aged 24, daughter of David Coffin, granddaughter of Elihu Coleman. Miriam had married Charles Hobbs out-of-Meeting in 1774 and apologized for this act. At least one of her brothers was already disowned for doing a similar act. The second was Abigail Coggeshall, probably sister to Cornelius, who had moved to Nantucket with wife and child from Newport in 1765. Probably Abigail was about 17 then. That would make her 28 when she moved to New York. Cornelius had died in 1766. His widow left directly. But in 1775 his brother, Paul Coggeshall moved to Nantucket to marry in the Congregational Church (for which act no doubt Rhode Island Monthly Meeting disowned him.) Still another sister, Mary Coggeshall, a Member, came onto the Island in 1777. She died an old maid aged 93 in 1835 still a Member.

This was followed by a curious request for a Transfer - that of Uriah Gardner, aged 60, who had been disowned in 1771 for marrying out in 1738. Possibly all that Silvanus Gardner and William Starbuck did was to inform Oblong Monthly Meeting that Uriah was not a Member. He was already in the New York Colony - was he desirous of starting out afresh with Friends? Certainly he had been one of the chief officers to distrain Friends during the French and Indian War. Uriah's associate in taking Quaker possessions if such refused to pay war taxes, Thomas Arthur, was involved directly afterwards in an arbitration case under the care of the Meeting, as regards Robert Coffin (son of "Nope") aged 73, who was not a very strict Friend. It

may be pure coincidence. But it is possible that both Uriah Gardner and Thomas Arthur wished to make amends for appearing to have been over-zealous Royalist Officers twenty years before as the Summer of 1776 came on.

Also at this time, Thaddeus Bunker, aged 18, got a Minute to Oblong Monthly Meeting to become apprenticed to his uncle, Elihu Bunker, pioneers in this migration to New York. His half-sister Miriam (Bunker) Bunker, was already there, having left as before observed in 1774. Daniel's widowed mother (who had re-married in 1762 was disowned in 1776. Directly thereafter, Jonathan Macy, Seth Gardner and Benjamin Barney were asked to enquire into the departures of Minister Joseph Jenkins, and his son Joseph Jenkins Jr. - and as well into Minister Nathaniel Coleman and his son John Coleman. General Howe had evacuated Boston, and closer to hand the Vineyard patriots had taken a Tory vessel bound from New York to London. Was this a logical moment for the two leading Nantucket Ministers to beat a retreat from an Island which would promise to be increasingly exposed to molestation?

Nathaniel Coleman was an old man - aged 79. His son John was aged 42, and Anna (Davis) Coleman, aged 39. Possibly the disownment of John's elder son Benjamin in 1776 for joining a company of Tories who took an American sympathizer forcibly "from his own house and carrying him about in an abusive manner," played a major role in Coleman's decision to move away. In another year Benjamin married out. He was then aged 21. Two years later his brother Eber Coleman, then aged 22, was also disowned - this time simply for marrying out. Obviously there was little understanding between John and his son Benjamin, for in 1777 John was mate on the U.S.S. Hazard , for which he was disowned in 1780 by Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Apparently John had refused to give in his Transfer to Nine Partners Monthly Meeting (where they settled), so that he was technically under the jurisdiction of Nantucket. His "crime" was not to deliver his Transfer; not to go to war. In fact, Anna had to get a new Transfer in 1780. And as the war ended, old Nathaniel Coleman then 86 returned, as was observed before earlier, to die on the Island.

The migration to New York State did not stop in 1776, but its details between 1772 and 1776 are useful in trying to analyse why Nathaniel Coleman would want to leave his Island home. The numbers who departed certainly did not equal the migration to New Garden (in North Carolina) but the first four years compare interestingly with the first four years of the Barrington Settlement which took place a decade earlier. Altogether, 76 adults left (including the Coleman party) of whom at least eight returned. No less than 60 to 70 children went with them.

As for the Jenkins family - not everything is clear. Minister Joseph (son of Matthew) was aged 63. His second wife Ruth (Barnard) Clark aged 59, went along with their daughters Phoebe, aged 17 and Mary, aged 15. Also two older children by Joseph's first marriage: Miriam Jenkins, aged 38, and Joseph Jenkins Jr. aged 23. Still another sibling Jonathan, was lost at sea aged 20 in 1768. And Francis, another brother, had already emigrated with his wife. According to

the Meeting Record, Minister Joseph was disowned in 1776. There is no record of dealing given in the Nantucket Monthly Meeting Records. Nor is there for the presumed disownment of Joseph Marshall Jr. at the time of his death - nor for the presumed disownment of Peleg Folger at his. There is just a possible explanation for disownment dates being put after these three prominent Friends. Someone among the many Friends disowned, got at the record of births, deaths, disownments and transfers, and in a moment of sprightly revenge, put a purely fictional disownment date opposite the names of these three worthies. Miriam and Joseph apparently returned to the Island to die old maid and bachelor (though the Meeting lists her death for 1755!) He certainly died in 1830 aged 77.

Then to complete the circle, as it were, Tristram Bunker, son of Captain Daniel who lived in Hudson from 1733 to 1740, emigrated back there in 1776, with his wife Anna (Bunker) Bunker, daughter of Benjamin, granddaughter of Joseph Worth of Barrington. He was then 34 and she 32. They had one daughter. By 1778, Anna's brother, Barzillai Bunker would follow them and her father a decade later. Hudson was probably the dream behind the migration - to found a deep safe whaling harbor on the tidewater of the Hudson River. Unfortunately, General Howe captured New York town in the Autumn of 1776. Whaling there had to wait until 1783, and the British evacuation of the mouth of the Hudson River.

CHAPTER XII - MATTHEW JENKINS (9-465)

In Which new patronymic labels are encountered in the first half century of the Meeting

Matthew Jenkins, 1691-1758, was born in Edgartown where his father, Peter Jenkins, had settled from England. Obviously Matthew was not of old Nantucket stock. Even by 1706 it had become clear which families were originally Nantucketers and which were new-comers. Of course Matthew Jenkins married in - his wife being Mary Gardner, a granddaughter of Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner and a first cousin of John Macy Jr. They were founding members of Nantucket Monthly Meeting - representing the inflow of new blood which was characteristic of the 18th century on Nantucket. Probably most arrivals occurred because of economic opportunity, but in the mens Meeting of 1708 only the Yarmouth born Gorhams and Paddacks were similar newcomers. The womens Meeting also included Austins, Trotts and Howes. (Cartwright, Hall, Lock, Daggett, Gayor and Shattuck were to be found only as "hidden" maiden names in 1708).

Attention has been drawn to Joseph Marshall and Thomas Clark joining Meeting in 1717 or 1718. The first Pinkham, Shubael by name, to join Friends, did so about 1715, after marrying a sister of Jabez Macy out of Meeting. Shubael's mother was a sister of Dinah Starbuck. Samuel Barker transferred in, in 1718, actually from Rhode Island Monthly Meeting. He was a nephew of William Barker, official Quaker visitor in 1708, 1711 and 1715. Sarah (Skiffe) Long (already noted) and Mary (Church) Clark were members in 1718, as was Mary Rogers (soon to depart). The arrivals of Ann (Tibbetts) Starbuck and Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard as well as Deliverance (Swett) Coleman have been observed. Two of Deliverance's sisters also married onto the island. But though they were born Quakers they were purely nominal members. Mary (Swett) Swain came in 1712 as the wife of John Swain Jr. (not a Friend). Huldah (Swett) Coleman arrived in 1726 as wife of non-Quaker Benjamin Coleman (cousin of John Coleman Jr.). Mary would later remarry under the care of the Meeting.

In 1719 William Clasby, an English Friend from Kingwood Monthly Meeting, arrived with a minute of transfer - and thereupon married a sister of Mary Jenkins, Abial by name. The arrival and departure of Benjamin Estes has been noted. In 1719 the first of the Brown family, George, joined Meeting by marrying Abigail Trott. The Browns had lived on Nantucket for two generations. George's grandfather on his mother's side was the Captain John Gardner who had no use for Friends. Only a dozen years before the latter had died intransigent in his anti-Quakerism. Now one grandson had gone over to the camp of the "enemy". Stephen Wilcox appeared in 1722 and Philip Pollard in 1723. Like William Clasby Philip came armed with a minute from his English Meeting (Bristol Monthly Meeting) and promptly married Mehitable Gardner, granddaughter of both Mary Starbuck and Sarah Gardner. Note has been taken of Provided (Gaskell) Allen who arrived in 1724, and of Benjamin Barney in 1721. Two Worth families joined in the early 1720s - brothers. William Worth's wife, Mary (Butler) Worth, was born a Vineyarder, while Joseph Worth's wife, Lydia (Gorham) Worth, had been a Yarmouth member. Through their mother the Worth brothers were grandsons of Sarah Gardner and through their father grandsons of Sarah (Macy) Worth, aunt of John Macy Jr. In other words the Worths were of an origin so close to the first families as for them to be on occasion so classified. George Newbegin has been cited.

Caleb Stratton had also been noticed. As was Richard Mitchell. In 1731 John Beard, a third English Friend, appeared, armed with a minute (from Bournemouth Monthly Meeting) proposing marriage to Deborah Pease, a niece of John Macy Jr. A brother,

Richard Beard, would come in 1742 to marry Eunice Macy, daughter of Jabez and Sarah. In 1732 John Russell, cousin of John and Jabez Macy, married Ruth Starbuck, the Clerk's daughter, thus bringing in a new name. In 1733 David Joy produced a minute from Dartmouth Monthly Meeting to marry Sarah Gardner, sister of minister David (as his second wife). Samuel Stanton from Newport and William Swan from Cape have already been noticed. But of more importance than most of these was the arrival of Joseph Rotch, hitherto non-Friend of Boston and the "old country". He married Love Macy in 1733, she daughter of the universal treasurer, Thomas. Like Nathaniel Starbuck, Rotch was a bundle of energy. In addition, he was witty and quick of repartee. It is recorded he never took to the "thee and thou" language so characteristic of 18th century Friends. Joseph Rotch was a merchant involved in oil but also in rum, sugar, molasses, salt fish, wine, etc. In fact he replaced Nathaniel Starbuck as the outstanding focal figure in Nantucket's economic life in 1753 when Nathaniel died. During the first 25 years 16 Friends had brought their certificates to Nantucket and settled in. Associated with them by convincement there were nine other family names. The numbers those families brought in was probably equal to the numbers who left - if they did not exceed them.

Two other special cases need consideration here. In 1722 a Salem Friend, David Gwinn, who was resident on Nantucket, married Alice Cartwright, niece of Susannah (Cartwright) Stratton, probably in the Salem Meetinghouse. They moved to Dartmouth where they raised four children. In 1746 their eldest son, Jonathan, wed Elizabeth Coleman, daughter of Solomon and Deliverance (Swett) Coleman in Nantucket Meeting, after which he settled down on the island. The other case has to do with Richard Worth, brother of William and Joseph, who married Sarah Hoag from Amesbury Monthly Meeting in 1729. They had six children before his early death in 1742. Meanwhile Sarah had appeared in the ministry. Sarah Worth then got a minute of transfer in 1744 back to Hampton with four of her children where she remarried a William Meade. Her two oldest children stayed on the island marrying under the care of the Meeting. Here was a slight parallel in miniature to the history of one of Sarah's fellow members - Abigail (Hall) Hussey. Incidentally a cousin of Sarah Worth, Sarah (Hoag) Barnard, married Thomas Barnard in 1735 and moved onto the island.

By the time the Meeting was a quarter century old Matthew and Mary Jenkin's seven children were founding households of their own. Thomas, the eldest, married out-of-Meeting in 1728 choosing a daughter of Nathan and Sarah (Church) Folger, non-Friends (though each had had a sister in Meeting). By 1735 Judith (Folger) Jenkins had come into Meeting so the eight children in this family grew up as Friends. Thomas was a merchant. He died in 1756. His four sons carried on in a hardly Friendly rivalry with the Rotch enterprises.

The second child, Peter Jenkins, was married in 1730 to Abigail Gardner, daughter of the first man married in Nantucket Meeting. For some years they lived in Edgartown, possibly inheriting grandfather Peter Jenkins' property there. Joseph, the third child, was married in 1735 to Anna Macy, daughter of elder John Macy Jr., and came forth in the ministry. After her death in 1756, Joseph remarried a widow, Ruth (Barnard) Clark, daughter of elder Judith (Gardner) Barnard, and granddaughter of minister Nathaniel Gardner. Both wives bore Joseph children. But during the excitement of the Revolutionary War, minister or not, Joseph was reported as being disowned.

A fourth child, Benjamin, was lost whaling while still a youth in 1732. The fifth child and first daughter, Bethiah, wed the James Bunker who emigrated to New York from 1737 till 1749, the year of her death. The sixth, Sarah, wed Seth Hussey in 1742, he being son of Captain Silvanus. He died in 1756, leaving her with four

children, a small number compared with her brothers' children. Mary, the youngest, also married out-of-Meeting, choosing William Butler of the Vineyard. In later years they moved back to Nantucket where she apologized for marrying out and continued to live as an active Quaker member but married to an active Congregationalist. On the whole the record of the Jenkins family was reasonably satisfactory from the Quaker point of view. Matthew Jenkins lived to note the 50th anniversary of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Mary (Gardner) Jenkins continued onfor three years more.

In the second quarter century Nantucket witnessed fewer members coming to live on the island. The marriage "factory" which had doubled the first 25 years in another eleven, continued to speed up in production. But now the great majority of applicants were birthright native Nantucketers. In fact the third group of 62 applications was reached in mid-1750, that is in half the time the second grouping required. The fourth list of 62 applications also appeared in the space of five and a half years, that is by the time 1756 came around. Thus 120 weddings took place in the space of little more than a decade.

In the last year and a half of the first50 year period only 25 applications were made - constituting somewhat of a falling off of the pace of the previous eleven years. But in the 1760s a new high peak of marriage production would take place - to be followed by an equally sharp falling off in the 1770s. At this point, however, analysis of the remainder of the marriages in the second quarter century alone is in order.

Among the 62 marriage proposals from 1744 to mid-1750 again one wedding never took place. Peter Folger, son of Captain Daniel, perished with his father the day after the son proposed marriage to Lydia Pinkham (niece of Daniel). Their sloop was lost at sea. Captain Daniel was son to Judith Wilcox. Lydia, however, married George Pollard, son of Philip, the next year. In all 120 people stood up (two down from 1733-1744 period). For ten this was a second time to appear (down three unless we count one third time appearance - making the figure down two). Only three were off-islanders (down eleven). Thirty-two natives joined by electing the Quaker marriage ceremony (down seventeen). Four couples were childless (increase of one). Only two couples emigrated directly (down five). A total of 270 children were born to the other 55 couples. In the 1733-1744 period 51 couples produced 324 children. Here there was a clear falling away. Twelve marriages in this third grouping lasted more than a half century (increase of one).

Then in looking at the fourth group of 62 marriage proposals running from mid-1750 to the end of 1756, we find (as in the year and a half to the golden anniversary) that all proposals were carried out. This time a full complement of 128 people stood up (increase of eight). Thirteen appeared a second time (increase of three). Two made it a third time (increase of one). Only one was an off-islander (down two). Twenty-four joined Meeting by marrying under its care (down eight). Six couples were childless (increase of two). Only one couple emigrated directly (down one). A total of 270 children were born to the other 55 couples (same as before). Fifteen couples reached their golden anniversary (increase of three). Obviously this fourth grouping was strongly nativist.

During the 25 ceremonies ending off the first half century of Nantucket Monthly Meeting 50 people stood up. Four appeared a second time. Two were off-islanders. Nine joined by the marriage ceremony. One couple was childless. One couple emigrated directly. A total of 41 children were born to the other 23 couples, (accentuating the downward trend). Two couples made the 50 year mark.

To summarize, during the second quarter century 1733-1758, a total of 414 people had stood up (excluding six who appeared more than once) in contrast to 118 from 1708 to 1733. Four missed out (two had before). Twenty-nine appeared a second time (15 in 1708-1733 period). Three stood up a third time (increase of one). Twenty were off-islanders (17 before). One hundred and fourteen joined Meeting by marrying under its care (50 had done so previously). Fourteen couples were childless (in contrast to four). Nine hundred and fifteen children were born to 184 couples in contrast to 389 children born to 51 couples. Forty couples compared to 18 reached their golden anniversary. Thus in 50 years the 272 couples married under the care of Nantucket Monthly Meeting produced over 1,300 birthright children. It is no wonder that six years after that birthday was noted, that the Great Meetinghouse was enlarged to accommodate 2,000 attenders.

In turning back again to specific new names encountered in the 1733-1758 period, we come to Joseph Chase who married Miriam Coffin, daughter of Bethia (Macy) Coffin, in 1737 in Meeting. The Chase family equalled the Worths in terms of island background though most of them had removed over to the Vineyard (a portion of the Worth family had apparently gone with them). What happened to Joseph and Miriam is a mystery. It would appear they too went to the Vineyard perhaps about 1760 - and were lost track of. One son continued to live on Nantucket and raised a Quaker family there. A niece, Abigail Chase, would join Meeting in 1760.

Attention has already been drawn to James Perry. His name should be linked to Edmond Heath who joined in 1744 by marrying Judith Folger, a cousin of Joseph Chase. Both men were disowned under circumstances which are not wholly clear. It is obvious they did not really fit into Nantucket Meeting. A third case not very different involved John Way, second husband of Abigail (Starbuck) Howes-Way, who were married in 1741. She was a daughter of Nathaniel Starbuck himself. Both Edmond Heath and John Way entered into childless marriages. In 1746 Mary Clasby, Mary Jenkins' niece, wed William Ray of Rays Court, beginning the process whereby six of his eight siblings would be drawn into the Meeting - there to form a very sold important element. William Ray's parents had moved to Nantucket soon after the town transferred its activities from Capaum Harbor. They brought in the coopers trade, making the barrels in which to store whale oil. The Clasbys were incidentally proved to be more consistent Friends than their cousins the Jenkins as time went by.

Among the women to come onto the island was Mary (Sheffield) Coffin, wife of Captain Nathaniel (brother of banker Benjamin). Nathaniel apparently married her in Newport Meeting in 1735. They certainly cut a distinctly fashionable figure on the island, and were disowned along with practically all their large family of children as the Revolutionary War hit the island. Another was Elizabeth (Howland) Swain, wife of Reuben (grandson of John Jr. and Experience (Folger) Swain). They were married under the care of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting in 1743, and came to live on the island. She died in 1755, so that Reuben Swain remarried in two years time, choosing a granddaughter of wharf builder Richard Macy - Hannah Macy by name. Five children by Reuben's first wife married on the island.

In 1748 Mary Myrick, of a hitherto Congregationalist family (of puritan Pinkham background), elected to marry Enoch Coleman, son of Jeremiah and Sarah (Pratt) Coleman, grandson of John Coffin of Edgartown birth, in Meeting. One is tempted to cite the adage: "Beware when people speak only good of you". It would seem that economic advantage played some motive in their becomeing Friends, and they were put out of Meeting in 1770, sadly enough for "robbery". At least one of their great-granddaughters, Maria Mitchell, the astronomer would seem to prove that the genes of wrongdoing are not always transmissable. William Rotch had harder things to say about one of the Jenkins family within a decade of that time.

Certainly economic advantage attracted two brothers from Rhode Island Monthly Meeting (Newport). These were Job and Peleg Coggeshall who married in 1757 and 1758 respectively. Job wed Deborah Starbuck, daughter of Tristram, granddaughter of Nathaniel Jr. Peleg chose Anna Folger, daughter of Timothy and his puritan wife, Anna (Chase) Folger, (granddaughter in turn of the anti-Quaker Captain John Gardner). Others of that family would emigrate to the island.

Joseph Nichols who joined Friends by marrying Ann Barnard, daughter of minister Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard, was certainly of the commercial type. His importing firm ran a rival show to Joseph and William Rotch. And then there was the case of John Waterman, of a non-Quaker family of Westerly, R.I., who joined Meeting and married Elizabeth Beard, daughter of John and Deborah (Pease) Beard in 1756. His story merits more sympathy than censure, for though he was thrown out of the Meeting for a common-law marriage, it was only the ancient Hebraic marriage code built into the Quaker discipline of that time, which, literally followed, led to his being cut off. That was in 1763 when the climate of Meeting affairs had changed.

Less dramatic was the story of Thomas Davis, who joined Meeting in 1752 by marrying Hephzibah Macy, daughter of treasurer Thomas. By his mother Thomas was a grandson of "Hope" and Hope Coffin. He would join in the Macy migration to North Carolina. A sister of Thomas Davis married John Coleman, son of minister Nathaniel, in 1754. Then in1755, Eunice Fitch, granddaughter of the Abigail (Coffin) Fitch whose house in Boston had burned in 1714, married onto the island, choosing Benjamin Barnard, grandson of the Benjamin who died in 1729. They eventually emigrated back to the mainland.

In 1755 Jethro Starbuck (the younger), son of minister William, wed Anna Upham, she being a daughter of Ruth (Pease) Upham, (thus cousin to John Macy Jr.). This union did not bring the Uphams into the Meeting, though her sister had already five years before married James Williams, introducing that name into the Meeting. James' mother was a Congregationalist, a daughter of Peleg Bunker and Susannah (Coffin) Bunker - already noted as members of that church. At least one of Anna (Upham) Starbuck's brothers was a Congregationalist as well.

Perhaps a final word should be said about Silvanus Hussey Jr., who married Alice Gray of Lynn Meeting (Salem Monthly Meeting), daughter of Jeremiah of that place. They resided on Nantucket from 1756 off and on till 1765 when she died. Apparently there were no children. But the Lynn connection led Silvanus to move there definitively in 1768 to establish his own whaling warehouse, possibly to handle the Boston trade. There he was joined in a few years time by members of the Jenkins family. Thus in a round-about way the story of movement onto the island leads us back to the first "outsiders" in Nantucket Meeting.

In the second quarter century only three transfer minutes for moving onto the island were present (sixteen in the earlier period). Associated with them were ten new family names (same as in the earlier period). Clearly on the proportionate basis the outsiders were increasingly in the minority.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

In Which an establishment Conservative was won over to a Southern Adventure.

WILLIAM COFFIN

William Coffin, 1720-1808, Elder, was dealt with for pre-marital sex in 1740, when he wed Priscilla Paddack, daughter of Nathaniel Paddack, and Elder, Ann (Bunker) Paddack. He was also dealt with in 1761 for allowing his eldest daughter, Deborah to marry a Congregationalist Abel Gardner Jr, in his home, out-of-Meeting. Such would seem to indicate a complex character. He was one of the Committee to explain why William Hunt could not be given a Returning Minute in 1765. And in 1773 he joined the stream of emigrants to North Carolina himself. William's terse comment - "I have broke the rule which was set up by divine wisdom," is both a sufficient commentary upon himself and the Quaker age in which he lived.

William Coffin's father was miller Samuel, and his mother Miriam, a granddaughter of Minister Sarah (Starbuck) Austin-Storey-Varney. William's grandfather was Major John Coffin of Edgartown. He began attending Men's Meeting in 1735 in the great Meeting House. In other words, William Coffin was a second generation Nantucket Quaker. Very probably he was one of the first students in the first Quaker School set up by Banker Benjamin Coffin in 1731. He was probably not unaware of Elihu Coleman being recorded in the Ministry in 1735. Certainly the burning of the Coffin school building and the relocation of the school on Main Street in 1736 was a vivid memory.

When William stood up with Priscilla, his pregnant bride, he was not unaware that his future mother-in-law was possibly the most active women Elder in the Meeting and a founder of the Monthly Meeting. She served on twenty-two Marriage Committees from 1722 to 1743, the year of her death. Ann (Bunker) Paddack was the ninth of ten children born to William Bunker (the first of his name on Nantucket) and to Mary (Macy) Bunker (daughter of the original Thomas). Her brother was Jabez Bunker (to whom an account has already been devoted). Three of her other brothers, (George, Peleg and Thomas) were members of the Congregational Parish, while one other brother Benjamin, was a Friend. Still two other brothers (John and Jonathan) were unchurched. Both sisters, Mary, (wife of Tristram Coffin of Edgartown) and Abigail, (wife of Shubael Pinkham of Nantucket), were Friends.

Also, William and Priscilla stood up the same day William's older brother, John Coffin, spoke for Kezia Folger, daughter of Captain Daniel (who perished at sea in 1744) and Abigail (Folger) Folger, (daughter of Quaker John of Edgartown). John was already aged 32, while William was only 20. John and Kezia soon developed one of the main merchandizing houses on the Island and did famously financially. They had only one child, Kezia, born in 1760 when John was 52 and his wife 37. She was a precocious child who inherited a double dose of the "knowing" qualities attributed to the Folger descent. In 1775, two years after her uncle William had left for New Garden, North Carolina, she began a diary kept faithfully for nearly a half century. Two years after initiating her journal, she was disowned for marrying Phinneas Fanning, a dashing young Yale graduate, who had come onto the Island. Already when she was 13 in 1773, Kezia's mother had been put out of Meeting for buying her daughter a spinnet (which her father then stored with Congregationalist neighbors.) As for John himself, he

was cast out in 1783, aged 75, when he didn't rise to business standards which the Meeting then exacted.

Did the disownment of Kezia (Folger) Coffin (heroine of the first novel called Miriam Coffin, written on Nantucket) influence her brother-in-law to quit the Island? Certainly in 1740 Priscilla Coffin's younger brother, Paul Paddack had married a Congregationalist out-of-Meeting. By 1773 such offenders were being dealt with. People were being disowned then for such offences. Did William and Priscilla find the prospect offensive? In this case they need not have worried, for Paul was overlooked or he apologized. Priscilla's older brother, Daniel Paddack (who married Susanna Gorham of Yarmouth in Meeting in 1727, died in 1743, the year of their mother's death. Deborah, Priscilla's oldest sister, who wed Theophilas Pinkham in Meeting in 1728, would die in 1758. Love, the next, who became an Elder, marrying George Swain in 1729 in Meeting. Lydia, the third sister, wed Elder Jethro Coleman in Meeting in 1731, and died in 1747. Mary whose Quaker wedding date fell in 1737, wed Francis Swain, and died in 1775, two years after Priscilla left the Island. Finally Dinah, Priscilla's next older sister, wed Jonathan Worth in Meeting in 1738. She would die a year after Mary. Thus only two of Priscilla's siblings lived on on Nantucket after 1776.

William's surviving siblings, in his case after 1779, were also few. Deborah, his oldest sister was there, having married Tristram Starbuck in 1729. Tristram had inherited the new Parliament House. Parnell, who wed Robert Coffin, a Congregationalist, out-of-Meeting in 1726, died the next year without issue. Libni was lost at sea in 1732, aged 22. Sarah who married Samuel Stanton, in Meeting in 1733, died in 1750. David who married Ruth Coleman, daughter of Minister Elihu in 1741, survived him. Miriam who wed Richard Pinkham, son of Shubael, in 1742 in Meeting, emigrated with him and four of their children in 1779 (the year their son Matthew Pinkham was disowned for sailing with Captain John Paul Jones on the Hound). Mary, the next to youngest of Miller Samuel's children, wed William Barnard in 1743, and died in 1777. Finally Priscilla married Christopher Coleman in 1748. She and two other siblings survived William Coffin as Quaker members on Nantucket after 1779.

Not only did William and Priscilla quit Nantucket in 1773, but so did all their nine children. (Libni was among the initial North Carolina settlers in 1771. He had married Hephzibah Starbuck in 1767, daughter of Joseph, grand-daughter of the "crown prince" Paul, probably with unlisted minor children.) It should also be pointed out that William Coffin Jr. preceded his parents by taking off in 1772. If he married it was after arriving in the "tar heel" colony. Deborah, whose marriage to Abel Gardner Jr. appears to have been annulled in effect, left without her husband, it would seem, who would die in a prison ship in New York Harbor in 1777. Barnabas who married Phoebe Marshall, daughter of the Men's Clerk in 1773 also left that year. Matthew, Bethuel, Abijah and Priscilla were all minor children. Matthew married Hannah Mendenhall from Pennsylvania in 1780 - Bethuel, Hannah Dicks from an unknown origin also in 1780. What happened to Abijah is unknown. Priscilla wed Asa Hunt in 1785, he being probably a son of the William Hunt (whose Minute had been refused) and thus brother to the founder of what is now Guildford College. Their mother lived on until 1804. If she got back to Nantucket no record is forthcoming. William Coffin did return to visit in the Ministry.

In 1740, Benjamin Coffin procured a mathematical guide called the School Masters' Assistant from which he developed double entry keeping, useful for teaching and for his job as treasurer of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. A responsibility undertaken from Nathaniel Starbuck in 1741 when his cash balance ran £6. 4. 5d. Incidentally, Paul Starbuck got 34 shillings for window repairs that year, and in 1743, £6. 1. 4d. In 1745 it was £7. 7. 9d.

In 1740 Paul Starbuck, then aged 46 was Moderator of Town Meetings and Chairman of the Board of seven Selectmen. Probably, Town Meetings were held in the great Meeting House then eight years old. The other Select men were John Macy Jr, Quaker Elder aged 65: Thomas Macy, aged 56, Town Treasurer and Quaker Committee man: Thomas Starbuck, aged 34, cousin of the Moderator: John Gardner 3rd, aged 60, Congregationalist grandson of the anti-Quaker magistrate.

Among the Selectmen in 1740 were also to be found Grafton Gardner, aged 47, cousin of John Gardner 3rd and cousin to the Starbucks, likewise a Congregationalist: and Nathan Folger, aged 62, non-churchman, father of Leah Paddack (still living on the Cape at that time). In a town not quite half Quaker - in 1740 - when William Coffin married - four of the seven Selectmen were Meeting folk, two were church members and one unaffiliated.

In looking at financial town matters, it appears that John Macy, Thomas Macy and Richard Coffin, aged 46 (nephew of Dinah Starbuck) were the assessors of property for taxation. The "tithing men" who worked not for the State church, but for the proprietary on Nantucket, were John Gardner 3rd, Ebenezer Gardner aged 52: (son of the late Minister Nathaniel): and Ebenezer Calef, aged 44, non-Quaker, on-comer. The surveyors of "butts and bounds" included John Macy, Jr., Richard Macy, aged 54, and Captain Jethro Folger, aged 51, brother-in-law of the moderator. Zephaniah Coffin, aged 41, son of Minister Stephen and John Ellis, aged 45, non-Quakers, were field drivers. Abishai Folger, aged 40, soon to be chosen to represent Nantucket in the General Court in Boston, and David Newall, aged 30, son-in-law of John Gardner 3rd, were meat inspectors. Ebenezer Calef, aged 44, Congregationalist, Peter Gardner, aged 54, Congregationalist: and Daniel Pinkham, aged 43, (brother-in-law of Thomas Starbuck) were hog reeves. Ebenezer Barnard, aged 56 (son-in-law of the late Stephen Hussey) and William Worth, aged 46, were named fence viewers.

On the legal side of town affairs, Shubael Pinkham, aged 49, (brother of Daniel): and Richard Swain, aged 42, non-Member, were constables. The Grand Jury consisted of fourteen Members - eight Friends - six non-Friends. The eight included: Richard Worth, aged 48 (brother of William): Samuel Gardner, aged 48: Jonathan Folger, aged 44, (younger brother of Captain Jethro): Philip Pollard, aged 45; Matthew Barnard, aged 45, nephew of Ebenezer: and Richard Mitchell, aged 25, son-in-law of the old Men's Clerk. The six included William Stratton, aged 60, (with a Quaker wife); Soloman Gardner, aged 60, (father of David Gardner, Minister); Peter Coffin aged 69, (son of Major John of Edgartown); Benjamin Gardner, aged 47, (brother of Soloman); and Daniel Allen, aged 36.

As for the Petty Jury, it consisted of twelve good men and true - three Quakers - nine not in Meeting. The Friends included Reuben Gardner, aged 36, (Soloman's eldest son): Moses Joy, aged 35, an inactive Quaker from Dartmouth: and Daniel Hussey, aged 27, son of Captain Silvanus. The non-Friends comprised: Jonathan Upham, aged 45 (on-comer); Obed Hussey, aged 25 (brother of Daniel): Richard Folger, aged 42 (brother of Jethro and Jonathan): Peleg Swain, aged 31 (with a Quaker wife); Jethro Swain, aged 34, (Peleg's brother)); James Long, aged 33 (with a Quaker mother); and Daniel Chadwick aged 31, new-comer.

More than half the 43 appointees were Quakers (filling 55 posts). Ten years later in 1750, at mid-century - mid-stream, 49 appointees are encountered, of whom 28 were Quakers - an increase greater than the growth of membership might lead one to expect. By 1763, there were 59 appointees, 43 of whom were Friends. It is clear that Quaker control of town affairs was complete by that time. William Coffin was involved by 1750.

William was 30 in 1750, ready to serve on the Grand Jury. Now only two of the fourteen were not Members of Meeting - half as many again as in 1740. William Coffin was, in fact, the youngest of the lot. Among them were to be found Joseph Marshall Jr., aged 44: Zaccheus Macy, aged 37 and David Gardner aged 42. The Petty Jury was less Quaker than it had been in 1740 - but perhaps it was uncongenial for Friends generally to pass legal judgement.

Two new posts appeared: those of surveyors of highways: and surveyors of lumber: posts held by Friends - while the job of constable went to non-Quakers in 1750. The various agricultural inspection jobs were still held in some cases by the 1740 appointees. Richard Coffin had come to replace Paul Starbuck as "king-pin" in the town government. Silvanus Hussey had taken on the role of moderator in 1745, to be replaced by Thomas Macy in 1748. Jabez Bunker had a go at it in 1749, as did Jonathan Coffin a Congregationalist when Jabez died. William Swain, one time irregular Quaker, aged 55 in 1750, was a Selectman. So were Abishai Folger and Hezekiah Coffin, (son of Zephaniah).

After Jonathan Coffin, Shubael Pinkham became Town Moderator in 1757, followed in turn probably by Abishai Folger (though no name is noted). By 1757 David Gardner was a Selectman, as was Samuel Bunker by 1763. Joseph Worth, soon to leave for Barrington, was a Surveyor of Lumber in 1757. By that time, Jonathan Macy had entered the service of the Grand Jury. In 1757 the Petty Jury consisted of only nine appointees - six of them Friends: including Samuel Starbuck, then aged 28.

In 1761, Joseph Bunker, aged 31, son-in-law of Shubael Pinkham, was paid £14. 0. 0d for his services as Constable. In 1763 the post of Warden - to oversee the Port of Nantucket was created. David Gardner was one of six men named to this task. Elihu Coleman's son, William, aged 40, was named night watchman - also a new post. William Rotch, aged 29 was asked to join Minister Richard Mitchell in coordinating the functions of Port Warden and Night Watchman. And Rotch was also a Petty Juryman in 1763. William Coffin seemed to have dropped out of sight in town affairs by that time.

It is perhaps illuminating that the Court Record for 1748 noted an Indian whipped twenty strokes for stealing a boat belonging to the "propiety". Did

this mean that the proprietors invested undivided income in the whaling business? If so, the value of sheep commons take on added significance. And the quarrel of 1754 over the Commons becomes more comprehensible.

In 1750, William Coffin lost his mother Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, then aged 65. She left 29 descendants in the Meeting. Miller Samuel Coffin would die in 1763, aged 80, leaving 57 descendants. William's father was a man of substance leaving cow commons worth £775.0.0d, and shares in all the town wharfs. In 1750, William Swain, soon to be a Town Father, manumitted his slave Boston. Did this act allow for his fellows to think he was deserving of civil honor? Incidentally, the town house was rebuilt in 1757. But surely it was not large enough for the holding of town meetings?

In 1753, Benjamin Barney, then Meeting Treasurer, paid Samuel Starbuck £13. 2. 3d for window repair in the big Meeting House. In 1754, the town's costs were estimated to run to £400. 0. 0d. Then in the late winter of 1755-1756, Benjamin Barney, Meeting Treasurer, was asked to pay £3. 14. 6d to Edward Starbuck for Meeting House repairs. Edward and Samuel Starbuck became the main caretakers of the great Meeting House in 1753, a job previously handled by Paul Starbuck from 1733 to 1738 and by David Joy (who originated in Dartmouth Monthly Meeting) from 1738 to 1753. In 1758, Edward Starbuck was paid £3. 15. 0d for window repair. And David Joy was asked to submit his bill for roof repairs. This was the time when a four day Algonquin Indian law case was tried in the great Meeting House - with much mutual recrimination among the natives. Lawlessness among the white wharf elements was also growing - and reflected among the Indians.

David Joy's bill came to £3. 10. 0: but in 1760, Hezekiah Coffin was paid £26. 17. 6d for fixing the windows alone and Silvanus Hussey was given £1. 2. 6d for nails used in more repairs. It was then that Barnabas Gardner took on official care of the Meeting House from the Starbuck brothers. For this he was given three silver thalers annually. Also at this time Minister Mehitable (Gardner) Pollard and Minister Sarah Barney audited Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey's accounts, and exchanged £33. 17. 0d in "old tenor" for £4. 10. 3d in new - indicating a depreciation of seven eighths.

In 1762. Samuel Starbuck got £23. 8. 0d for repairing the Meeting House and buying a record book (probably for births, deaths, disownments, acknowledgements and transfers). A month later, £18. 19. 0d. was given to Benjamin Barney, who was collecting for the 1764 enlargement project. Already Zaccheus Macy had given £20. 0. 0d to that end. Note was taken in the Autumn of 1763 that the Meeting still lacked £106. 8. 3d to start reconstruction. Hephzibah Hussey was then replaced by her niece Minister Priscilla (Coleman) Bunker, as Treasurer of the Women's Meeting. Barnabas Coleman, William Hussey and Minister Joseph Jenkins were then named a Fund Raising Committee.

Early in 1764, Richard Macy was requested to reconstruct the "hearth" in the men's appartment - possibly to build a second one. In 1765, another second one was put on the women's side of the House. Jonathan Folger and Barnabas Coleman were chosen for this assignment. And the men put a stove on their side, paying Barnabas Coleman £35. 16. 10d for this convenience. A month later, Paul Bunker was given £5. 0. 9d for the "smith work" about the House. In 1766, Priscilla Bunker was asked to order coal as well as wood - an order repeated in 1767.

Meanwhile, Samuel Starbuck was paid £9. 14. 4d for window repair in 1764. Five months later, Benjamin Coffin was given £0. 35. 10d for further work. Barnabas Gardner's caretaker's stood then at three Spanish thalers, and Mary (Gardner) Gardner was paid £7. 10. 0d for cleaning the House. In the Autumn of 1765, Caleb Swain and Joseph Marshall were each paid 45 shillings for unspecified work done and early in 1766 Edward Starbuck got £8. 5. 6d for more window repair. That year the men's treasury was audited by John Macy 3rd and Joseph Marshall.

Edward Starbuck got £32. 6. 0d for window work in 1766-1767, while a newcomer Ephriam Chase(from Swansea) was donated £1. 1. 6d to repair the steps leading into the House. The next Autumn, Edward Starbuck's bill came to £41. 11. 2d. In 1770 it was the turn of Daniel Macy to do repear work costing £11. 6. 0d. This was the time William Coffin worked with Peter Barnard (Nathaniel Starbuck's son-in-law) om establishing the "butts and bounds" of the Quaker road lots. William Rotch, Benjamin Barney and Silvanus Worth discovered a deficit of £86. 6. 0d in Jonathan Macy's treasury soon afterwards, as the cost of fencing the old burial ground out by Elihu Coleman's house had come to £132. 3. 4d.

A bit later in the Spring of 1771, Barnabas Coleman was asked to see that the toilet facilities were in order. And incredibly the question of again enlarging the Meeting House was raised. Only seven years had elapsed since it had been improved so that two thousand Friends could sit down comfortably together. This consideration coincided with the onset of the migration to North Carolina (which in fact, acted as a sort of "safety valve." Thus, in fact, no enlargement as such ever took place. In 1771 William Rotch was the Chairman of the committee of eleven men Friends to explore this matter. They included Jonathan Macy, treasurer, William Hussey, Samuel Starbuck, Joseph Worth, Richard Mitchell, Joseph Marshall Jr., Daniel Macy, Micajah Coffin, Walter Folger and Stephen Coffin. The next year William Rotch built his Counting House at the foot of Main Street and men Friends completed their first volume of Monthly Meeting minutes. The old vellum book covered 64 years. The new larger soft leather covered book would be filled in another 17 years. It would seem that from 1772 to 1789 six to eight times as much business was done, proportionally to the earlier period.

In 1771 Mary Gardner's stipend was increased to £9. 0. 0d. and at that time four more weighty Friends were added to the Meeting House Committee. These were: Samuel Bunker, David Joy, Christopher Starbuck and Matthew Barnard. As well, Peter Coffin (son of the late Paul) and Thomas Clark, (grandson of the original of that name) were asked to be in charge of opening and shutting the partition between the men's and women's Meeting. In 1773 Priscilla Bunker gave Mary Gardner £13. 0. 0d for caring for the Meeting House - a far cry from

the few shillings she got forty years before. But there was an inflation evident, as well.

Between 1728 and 1748, the Monthly Meeting records show £111. 8. 4d raised by the men's Meeting - £99. 9. 6d halfpenny by the women. From 1748 to 1758 the men's total stood at £250. 3. 8d and the women at £162. 9. 11d. From 1763 to 1768 a grand total of £363. 0. 0d was gathered from both meetings for running expenses. And from 1768 to 1773 the figure stood at £442. 5. 9d halfpenny. These donations exclude special gifts earmarked for the costs of building Meeting Houses. It is difficult to estimate (because of inflation) just how much these figures mean in real monetary value. It is, however, possible to state that the costs of running a religious establishment without salaries was relatively little.

It was not extensive Meeting costs, in any case, which motivated a large number of Friends to leave the Island. It will be recalled that a small movement into the District of Maine can be traced to 1737 - when incidentally at least one Nantucket Quaker family was living on the Hudson River. In 1761 the Barrington Township expedition was begun - and in 1765 New Bedford was founded (with some Nantucket help). In 1771, the North Carolina migration began: followed by the major movement to New York in 1772 (as already noted).

Some other departures can well be noted at this time. In 1742, Reuben Hussey, son of lawyer George, got a Minute to Dover Monthly Meeting, to join his uncle Batchellor in Maine. Two years later he married Elizabeth Woodbury, daughter of Nathaniel of Boston, who set up the first summer residence on Nantucket. The Woodburys were Congregationalists, so we may presume he was disowned by Dover Monthly Meeting later, perhaps after Reuben's death. Then Elizabeth Hussey moved to Nantucket. A sister of Elizabeth, Priscilla Woodbury, married Christopher Gardner (son of Andrew) out-of-Meeting in 1744. They settled in Boston. As no record of Christopher was made regarding his disownment, he probably passed into the care of Salem Monthly Meeting, or simply possibly he just escaped into limbo.

In 1745, as before noted, David Gardner's brother, Richard, and his bride, Sarah (Macy) Gardner, daughter of Elder John, moved to the Macy holdings along the Acushnet River in what is now Fairhaven, under the care of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. The same year, Reuben Coffin, son of banker Benjamin wed Mary Joy (daughter of David Joy and his first wife, Mary (Taber) Joy). They also moved to Dartmouth, from which, of course, the Joys had originated.

In 1749, Sarah (Hoag) Worth, Minister, withdrew to Hampton Monthly Meeting, also as earlier indicated, with two minor children, Anna and William. The next older child, Lionel, stayed on the Island for another ten years - sailing with a Certificate of Pacifism in the seven years war, and leaving to marry in 1759 on the North Shore. Still another son, Francis, who married in 1756, had stayed to participate in the Barrington Experiment and would emigrate to North Carolina in 1771. One daughter, Priscilla (Worth) Upham stayed in Nantucket, as did one son, Richard Worth, who married Anna Macy, daughter of Richard in 1753, with Sarah (Hoag) Worth-Meade's explicit permission.

In 1751, Susannah Gardner, daughter of Barnabus wed Caleb Russell, eventual chief founder of New Bedford, and emigrated with him to Dartmouth. Whaling got started from Dartmouth in 1756. For instance, Zaccheus Gardner, brother-in-law of Caleb Russell, sailed as first mate on the Manufacturer, a sloop hailing from the Acushnet River, with Captain John Taber as Master. Also in 1756,

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membership, and the Yearly Meeting standard set out in 1765.

In 1765, a niece, aged 13, Abial Hussey, daughter of widow Sarah (Jenkins) Hussey, was given a transfer (though a minor) to Dartmouth Monthly Meeting, to live with her aunt and uncle, Hephzibah and Jonathan Hussey. This was the year that New England Yearly Meeting formally recognized membership regulations though London had done so in 1737.

Apparently some moving about took place without transfer of Certificate. For instance Anna (Coleman) Coffin, daughter of Minister Elihu, and widow of John of Edgartown (who perished in 1755), got a Minute from Dartmouth Monthly Meeting (where apparently she had gone upon leaving Edgartown) to marry Jonathan Gardner (widower), son of Barnabas in 1764. In this case, marriage terminated a departure of eight years standing.

Another situation involving Dartmouth Monthly Meeting, had to do with Jonathan Gifford, son of Benjamin, of that place, who wed Eunice Beard, daughter of Richard of Teignmouth in 1767 and then emigrated to North Carolina in 1772. Meanwhile as before noted, Joseph Rotch Jr. got his Minute of Transfer to Dartmouth Monthly Meeting in 1766, only to die in England in a year's time. It will be recalled that William Brown left with the younger Rotch (having arrived on Nantucket from Philadelphia to make a fortune). Controversy over the Rotch departure soon involved the refusal to give William Hunt his Returning Minute to North Carolina in 1766.

Hunt wrote a letter to Nantucket Monthly Meeting in 1768 (after two visits) which letter was read publicly, but no Returning Minute was given: for "want of so general a freedom as is necessary in such cases." Objections were spelled out early in 1769 (but not spread in the Minutes) by a committee headed by William Coffin , including John Macy 3rd, and William Russell (of the Commons Case). But once Rachel Wilson had arranged for the Meeting to receive William Hunt again in the summer of 1769, he came back, that is in the early Spring of 1771 (with Thomas Thornborough) - and was then called an "esteemed Friend." At that point, John Macy 3rd emigrated to North Carolina. Two years later William Coffin followed his example. Was this a Damascus-Road type re-orientation?

Presumably Hunt was promoting migration to North Carolina. The Meeting had only just let Joseph Rotch Sr. depart reluctantly in 1767 - pointing out that he was involved in litigation over property with Friends. But this was only an excuse. In 1768 Silvanus Hussey and Co. sued Jonathan Wing of Rochester over a whaling debt, and Stephen Hussey of Nantucket sued in the Autumn Sessions of the 1764 Court of Criminal Sessions one Ebenezer Wing of Sandwich similarly. The same court recorded that Silvanus Hussey and Co. sued Joseph Allen of Dartmouth for £18. 7. 11d. Probably all these were Quaker members. And no objection to such legal activity had been made to Nantucket Meeting.

In giving William Hunt a Returning Minute in 1771, Nantucket opened the gates to a massive emigration southwards. The John Macy who led the way was the son and heir of the one-time Select Meeting Clark. An Elder of eight years standing, John Macy 3rd, was then aged 50, had overseen 18 weddings, had been five times representative of Preparative Meeting, been distrained in 1757 for not paying war taxes, and had served on arbitration, finance, youth care and quarterly reports committees. His total of appointments ran to 30. John had lost his father in 1751 and his mother in 1767. More serious, his wife Eunice (Coleman) Macy, daughter of Minister Elihu, died in 1768. Thus his youngest seven children left with their father just one month after William Hunt got his Returning Minute. Jemima was aged 21, John Macy 4th was 17, and Elihu was 16. The other three were birthright children, not yet attending Business Meeting. They formed part of an emigration group numbering possibly twenty-three, of whom half were children. Two years later, John's oldest daughter, Bethiah (Macy) Macy, then aged 29, joined him with her husband, Paul Macy, then aged 33, with their five children. Paul was son of Joseph, grandson of Treasurer Thomas. He would live to emigrate to Ohio, in time to die after the Hicksite separation in 1832. John's second daughter (who was also already married) left with him. She was Judith (Macy) Bunker, aged 25, wife of Reuben Bunker Jr. As they were wed in 1767, there may have been an infant or two. Was the departure of this solid family tied up with disgust at the money-conscious outlook of certain leading Nantucket Friends?

Significantly, William Coffin's son, Libni Coffin, aged 36, joined the initial emigration party with his wife Hephzibah (Starbuck) Coffin, aged 32, daughter of the late wealthy whaling merchant Joseph Starbuck, with probably two unlisted small children. And there was Daniel Worth, son of Joseph, leader of the Barrington emigration who aged 32, left with his wife, Eunice (Hussey) Worth, aged 29 (daughter of the Captain Daniel Worth lost in 1749 at sea, exploring the route to coastal North Carolina). They had four minor children.

In 1774, Joseph Worth Jr., then aged 45, emigrated with his wife, Judith (Starbuck) Worth, aged 40, daughter of Minister William with their four children: Jethro, aged 20: Eunice, aged 18: Matilda, aged 16 and a minor son. The next year, 1775, Thomas Worth, Joseph's brother, aged 39, and his second wife Judith (Swain) Barnard-Worth, aged 34, emigrated with one of three children by his first wife, and two by his second. Judith was daughter of Caleb Swain. Her three children by Christopher Barnard (son of Peter) stayed on the Island. Both Joseph Jr. and Thomas had lived in Barrington Township experiment.

Finally in the 1771 Spring grouping were two young men selected to return to inform others of the best routes south. They were Captain Shubael Gardner, aged 29, son of Reuben, grandson of Soloman, (who would be disowned in two years time): and Joseph Mitchell, aged 30, soon to be recorded a Minister - and to move eventually to Newport. This party carried four Minutes of Transfer, all of which were deposited with New Garden Monthly Meeting.

There is a tradition (but with no Minutes to prove it) that Jabez Bunker's son, Peleg Bunker (cousin of Reuben) had gone to Coresound Monthly Meeting in 1764, with his wife, Lydia (Worth) Bunker (sister to Daniel Worth) with five

children - and that they had returned (with three more children born there) in 1770. They may have taken the trek to Cane Creek and to New Garden and thus helped prepare the way for William Hunt's appeal of 1771. We don't know the route taken by the 1771 pioneer party - but it may well have been through Coresound. It would appear that some latter emigrants from Nantucket settled there. In 1786, the Peleg Bunker family moved to Hudson, New York - so probably they had stayed on the coast of North Carolina in the 1764-1770 period.

In the Autumn of 1771, no less than 42 Nantucketers left for Piedmont, North Carolina. One of the leaders of this group was David Macy, aged 57, older brother of John Macy 3rd, whose wife, Dinah (Gardner) Macy, aged 56 was sister of the ex-Minister David Gardner (then under a cloud). Their three youngest children accompanied them: Abigail, aged 20: Dorcas, aged 18: and David Jr., aged 16. Two years later, in 1773, they were joined by two older sisters: Anna (Macy) Macy, then aged 28, wife of Enoch Macy, aged 30, brother of Paul, (with three small children): and Sarah (Macy) Russell, aged 26, wife of Timothy Russell, aged 31, son of the William (who had been disowned, and then sat on William Hunt's committee), with one small child. One daughter Hepzibah had died in 1768, aged 19, and two older children stayed on Nantucket - Stephen Macy, aged 32 in 1773, an Elder of note - and Miriam (Macy) Gardner, aged 30, wife of Robert Gardner, Jr.

Dinah (Gardner) Macy's brother, Richard Gardner, aged 61, and his wife Sarah (Macy) Gardner, aged 42 (sister of John Macy 3rd) were also leaders of this migration. With them went their seven children, none yet married - nor did they get Minutes. Richard Gardner, Jr., aged 24: Silvanus Gardner, aged 22, Eliab Gardner aged 20: Hezekiah, aged 17: Sarah aged 15, and two minors. Two years later, Stephen Gardner, aged 65 (brother of Richard) and his wife, Jemima (Worth) Gardner, aged 53 (daughter of William Worth) and seven of their nine children presented themselves at New Garden Monthly Meeting (four with Minutes to the Men's Meeting). These were William Gardner, aged 30 and his wife, Susannah (Gardner) Gardner, aged 27 (daughter of James Gardner, once of Barrington) and probably some small children: Stephen Gardner, Jr., aged 28, and his wife, Abigail (Pinkham) Gardner, aged 23, (daughter of Shubael) and one daughter. (Actually they did not arrive until 1774): Mary (Gardner) Sweet, aged 23, and her husband John Sweet, aged 29, on-comer (without a Minute) and probably an infant or two: Barzillai Gardner, aged 21, (due to return later in 1773 and later to mary Jemima Macy, daughter of John Macy 3rd in 1775 (went back again in North Carolina): Judith Gardner, aged 18: Rhoda Gardner, aged 16 (and due to marry John Macy 4th in 1775): and one final son, still a child. One of Stephen Gardner's children continued to live on Nantucket. She was Miriam (Gardner) Folger, aged 28, in 1773, wife of Barzillai Folger, Jr. Another daughter Jemima (Gardner) Swain, had married Howland Swain, and had died in 1768, aged 20.

Another emigrant in the Autumn of 1771 was Jethro Macy, aged 33, an active Committee Friend, son of the Jabez who had been returned to membership

shortly before. His wife, Hephzibah (Worth) Macy, aged 33, was sister of Richard Gardner's wife Jemima. They left with eight children: Hephzibah, aged 20: Mary, aged 17: Jethro and Gayer, twins, aged 16: and four minors. Also Jethro Macy's brother, Matthew Macy, aged 39 and his wife, Abigail (Gardner) Macy, aged 40, (daughter of Barnabas) started to migrate in 1771 - but then postponed this until 1773. Abigail, at least, got Minutes of Transfer in both those years. His son, Matthew Jr. (by his first wife) then left, aged 25; and so did Matthew's four half-siblings. George was then 21. Sarah was 19, Abigail was 16, and a younger sister was a minor.

Another cloudy situation of departure was that of Gayer Starbuck, aged 27, son of Thomas, disowned in 1770, for marrying Rachel Folger, daughter of the non-Quaker Peter, granddaughter of Nathan (aged 23 in 1771) out-of-Meeting, they left in the Autumn of 1771. Upon arriving in North Carolina, Gayer and Rachel adopted Quaker Gard and attended New Garden Meeting so assiduously that the Meeting asked the couple to apologize to Nantucket, which they did in 1774, in order to have Transfers sent out for them. Apparently, New Garden Monthly Meeting was used to the elegant Philadelphian way of writing Minutes, so that they went so far as to criticize Nantucket's slipshod procedures in the 1770's.

More regular was the emigration of Francis Worth, aged 36, son of Sarah Meade, who left in the Autumn of 1771, with his wife Mary (Gardner) Worth, aged 34, sister to Matthew Macy's wife, Hephzibah, with two children. Seven Minutes were presented by this contingent probably early in 1772. There was some question regarding the regularity of Francis Worth's transfer.

The Spring contingent of 1772 was led by Stephen Gardner (to whom reference has already been made, in a party of six, including three male Minutes). Probably the males got off early - certainly Jemima Gardner and her daughter Rhoda procured Minutes in the Autumn. Among the Spring of 1772 company was to be found Reuben Bunker Sr., aged 62 (father of the man who left the year before). He had in fact married out many years before - that is in 1738. Notwithstanding, he was issued a Minute which he didn't incidentally, hand in to the authorities at New Garden Monthly Meeting. Possibly he went to Cane Creek or to one of the coastal Meetings. A brother would emigrate in 1780 (possibly some of his children emigrated, but none but the eldest was a Friend.)

Still another of the Spring company in 1772 was Richard Beard, aged 52, originally of Teignmouth in England, who left with his wife, Eunice (Macy) Beard, sister of Abraham and Jethro Macy (daughter of Jabez). Two of their children William, aged 21, and George, aged 20 were adults. Two were still minors. An oldest daughter Eunice (Beard) Gifford, aged 30, had married Jonathan Gifford, of a Dartmouth background. They had two minor children. These four joined the Beard emigrant group. Richard Beard left an older brother, John Beard, who was to be disowned in 1774, as were nine of his eleven children before 1777 was up! Also in the Spring of 1772 the party was to be found by William Stanton, aged 38 (significantly son of the Samuel

who died in 1740), and his wife, Phoebe (Macy) Stanton, aged 32, (daughter of Zaccheus Macy, first Nantucket historian). They left with four children. This party of 29 carrying five male certificates, also included a spinster Lydia Anthony, aged 32, who had moved to Nantucket from Providence, Rhode Island.

The Autumn 1772 emigrant party was diminished by the onset of the movement to New York. Some twelve Friends, however, did set off - probably led by Stephen Gardner and his sons. Two Starbucks joined the expedition. These were Paul Starbuck, aged 26, son of Edward, window setter, and his wife Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, aged 22, daughter of Jonathan Coffin (and who spent her youth in Nova Scotia), with two small children. Paul's brother, William Starbuck, aged 24, also travelled along with his friend, William Coffin Jr. aged 25, brother of Libni, who went in 1771. Three male certificates alone were carried as Paul Starbuck only had his sent on in 1773.

And then in the Spring of 1773, it was the turn of Elder William Coffin himself to lead a group of twenty-three, southwards, including most of his family, as earlier enumerated. Counting the group, 138 Friends had left for North Carolina - of whom sixteen returned (most from the 1773 grouping). William Coffin had once been a Conservative on migration. As early as in 1763 he was asked to extract apologies for those going to Barrington Township in Nova Scotia. He had looked into Benjamin Barney to assure that the Treasurer was carrying out the provisions of his mother's Newport will. He sat on Jabez Macy's Disownment and on that of Captain John Waterman (for common law marriage) as well as that of Enoch Coleman for robbery and for Thomas Barnard for concubinage. He sat on fourteen cases of dealing in all (including that of Enoch Macy then at New Garden - for rough language). William also handled eighteen marriages, eight Transfer Minutes, two Membership Applications, and two Preparative Meeting appointments. In all William Coffin was given 48 appointments by Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Is it any wonder his descendents in North Carolina still remember him?

Two families who left with William and Priscilla Coffin returned. One was that of Stephen Coffin aged 43, and his wife Mary (Bunker) Coffin, aged 37. Stephen was son of Zephaniah Coffin, the whaling promoter. He certainly got no Minute of Transfer. Mary was daughter of Samuel Bunker (once disowned). It took the meeting six months to clear her Minute. We don't know why there was reticence. They went with seven children: Stephen Jr. aged 22, Job aged 19; and five minor children. The other returnees were Prince Gardner, aged 31 (son of Robert), and his wife, Deborah (Barnard) Gardner, aged 28 (daughter of Francis Barnard) with a baby daughter.

Among those who stayed were Nathaniel Macy, aged 34 (son of Robert, grandson of Thomas) and his wife Hephzibah (Macy) Macy, aged 29 (sister of Phoebe Stanton) with three minor children. Their Committee of Enquiry for Travelling Minutes also acted for William and Priscilla Coffin, to wit: Benjamin Coffin, Samuel Starbuck, Sarah Barney and Lois (Gorham) Macy. In addition, Nathaniel Macy was scrutinized by Christopher Starbuck. The women's committee also acted for Phoebe (Coffin) Coffin, aged 19, wife of Jonathan Coffin (brother-

in-law of Paul Starbuck in North Carolina, Phoebe was daughter of Moderator Richard Coffin. Jonathan then aged 24 seems not to have asked for a Minute. They had one baby in 1773 - and apparently decided after all not to leave, as the meeting record lists three more for them in the next six years.

One last Minute issued was issued for bachelor Jonah Worth, aged 50, brother of Jemima (Worth) Gardner, Stephen's wife, and Hephzibah (Worth) Macy, Jethro's wife. It appears he was already in North Carolina. It seems Nathaniel Macy, aged 58 (son of Thomas) and his wife Abigail (Pinkham) Macy, aged 51 and five of their nine children to wit: Nathaniel Jr., aged 23; Peter, aged 16; and three minors; contemplated leaving, but did not do so in the end. A total of 42 contemplated leaving for North Carolina in the Spring of 1773, but in fact 22 either did not leave or returned. Up to the Summer Solstice of 1773, double the Barrington numbers had left for the South. The 1773 Spring party carried twelve Minutes, six of which were recorded as being presented at New Garden Monthly Meeting - two presented there in fact were not recorded as requested on Nantucket. We are in the debt of Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert of Guilford College who compiled the men's certificates received from 1771 to 1775 by New Garden Monthly Meeting (list published in Bulletin of Friends Historical Association in the Autumn of 1945.) Forty three were noted, of which thirty six were presented in the 11th month of 1773. Fifteen others were issued by Nantucket Monthly Meeting these years but possibly presented elsewhere.

The emigration to North Carolina appears to have been a spectacular but temporary phenomenon. The movement to New York was, in contrast, a lasting tendency. Admittedly more came back to Nantucket from New York than did from the South. But that region was nearer, and after 1783 associated with Nantucket whaling. Obviously the original Colonial Governmental link from 1664 to 1691 foreshadowed a continuation which no one earlier could have predicted.

New Garden-Nantucket Friends did on occasion get back to Nantucket, as did some Nantucketers visit the South in the Ministry. Benjamin Barney and William Starbuck started the latter tradition in 1773, soon after William and Priscilla Coffin left (it will be recalled.) In 1774 when Benjamin Barney presented his Returning Minute, William Coffin Jr. was back on Nantucket to give his version of how things stood in the tar heel state. As companion to Zachariah Dicks and John Carter, a Minister of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. Then in 1775, William Starbuck came back from New Garden, with a Visiting Minute - probably on business. In 1777 Stephen Gardner appeared similarly. The war obviously interfered with visiting too much to and from the Carolina Cape - but equally obviously the contact was kept. And when William Coffin died in 1808, the event was noted on the Island which he had left more than a generation earlier.

CHAPTER TWENTY

ELIHU COLEMAN

In Which the Society of Friends in America is examined particularly in relationship to the mid-century Reformation. 325-End

Earlier on I noted rescuing various Nantucket personalities from forgetfulness. Thomas Story has been the recipient of a recent biography - but he is not widely known. Stephen Hussey rings a bell in the consciousness of those who knew Nantucket history. But not until we come to Elihu Coleman, 1699-1789, has any in between figure treated in this series any real claim to being remembered. It is thanks to Thomas Drake - a contemporary Quaker historian and Nantucket resident that Nathaniel's brother boasts a tenuous claim to fame. Elihu was the second literary figure on the Island. A great-grandson of Peter Folger, who was its first. Elihu was also after his brother Nathaniel, the Minister of the Nantucket Meeting. But he is also recalled perhaps unfairly, as the man reputed to have killed spontaneous Ministry among Quakers on the Island.

In his favor is the account in Kezia Fanning's Journal when she went to visit "cousin Elihu" on his death bed. Kezia had never presumed to name Minister Nathaniel as her cousin. The 1789 visit reveals a generous, genial old man, suffering but conscious in his terminal illness. Gracious and loving to a disowned impetuous lady - one who is tempted almost to be called a Nantucket virago. Elihu's house and his library in it survives intact almost, so that he seems more real than many of his contemporaries. He lived in that house nearly seventy years.

Elihu married Jemima Barnard, daughter of John Barnard (non-Friend) and Sarah (Macy) Barnard, Quaker Overseer in 1720. She was the eldest of five children - two brothers of whom were married, a third not, nor Sarah's only sister. Sarah's married sons were Robert and Matthew, each an Elder in his own right. Samuel continued to live in the family homestead with his sister Hannah until 1772 and Hannah continued there alone until 1788. Naturally these five were first cousins to John, Jabez, Thomas and Richard Macy and John Barnard was the older brother of Judith Wilcox's second husband. Their father, Nathaniel Barnard Jr. had married his first cousin Mary (Barnard) Barnard in 1665, and as it happened, came onto the Island that year. (She had two sisters, Sarah (Barnard) Skiffe and Martha (Barnard) Rogers - who had each some Quaker descendents). But Nathaniel and Mary Barnard were the ancestors of the five Barnard lines on the Island - of which John, Jemima's father was the founder of the eldest.

Nathaniel, the next, had five Quaker children. Stephen, the originator of the third line, had only one son by his second wife - she being a Congregationalist. The son, however, joined Meeting. Benjamin, the fourth of the family had eight Quaker children. And Ebenezer the fifth, had four children in Meeting. All the grandchildren sharing the name Barnard were Members of Meeting. Nathaniel Sr.

and Mary had four daughters - none of them Quakers. Mary wed John Folger (born in Edgartown). Five of their nine children joined Meeting - one the Congregational Church. Sarah married off-Island. Eleanor married a Congregationalist, Ebenezer Coffin, son of Representative James, and raised a family in that church. And Abigail wed Abraham Chase of the Vineyard. Their family went unchurched.

As Elihu and Jemima's house stood next the original Friends' Meeting House, they no doubt met all the visitors, at least from 1721 to 1733. Of the 175 visitors up to that point, already some 65 have already been noted, leaving some 110 not yet identified. About 40 of these turn out to be New England Quakers. They brought awareness of the configuration of New England Yearly Meeting and the Elders of the wider Quaker world, which can here be presented in noting which of these additional visitors came from where. Like white corpuscles in the human body these visitors travelled the Quaker world to keep the society in "good countenance."

New England Quakerism boasted the oldest Monthly Meeting in America, that of Sandwich(founded in 1657) on Cape Cod. Sandwich gave much anonymously to Nantucket Meeting, through its Preparative Meeting at Yarmouth on the Bass River. But on the whole, its contact was strangely minimal. Only three visitors are listed as coming from the Cape. In 1704 Richard Harper of Falmouth arrived and in 1721, Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham, Minister, Nantucket born, followed suit. And John Wing Jr. of Sandwich itself came in 1724. Then in the 1730-1740 decade, two more Harpers made it. Eliphalet (in 1733, 1734 and 1741): and Elizabeth Harper in the key 1733 year. Scituate Monthly Meeting (set off from Sandwich in 1660) sent Abraham Booth in 1716. These two meetings formed Sandwich Quarterly Meeting after its reorganization in 1705.

Further north from Scituate Monthly Meeting (which came to be called Pembroke) was to be found Salem Monthly Meeting set up in 1663 after the hangings of Quakers in Boston had stopped. Salem sent two visitors (in addition to at least one other already cited.) One of these was Samuel Collins who arrived in 1713 and in 1724. He had visited Governor Dudley in Boston in 1704 with Thomas Story. The other was his kinsman Michael Collins who appeared in 1722. About 1701 Hampton Monthly Meeting was set off by Salem for Friends living on the Massachusetts-New Hampshire line. This Meeting (later called Amesbury Monthly Meeting) had much Nantucket contact. Seven visitors appeared from this place: Jacob Merrill in 1713; Mary Brown (wife of Jacob) in 1719 and 1720; Ann Stanyon, in 1719, 1720, 1729, 1733 and 1739 - and her daughter Anna Stanyon in 1729; Sarah Norton in 1719, 1720 and 1730; Anthony Field Jr. in 1729; and John Burling in 1729. This was the ancestral area of most of the original Nantucket settlers, and in 1733 Sarah Pettel of Boston put in from this Monthly Meeting.

Then to the North was Piscatiqua Monthly Meeting (later Dover) set off from Salem Monthly Meeting in 1673 lying on the New Hampshire-Maine border. At least four other visitors appeared from this area: Ephriam Tibbetts Jr. in 1723; Mary Dow in 1727; and Sarah Varney, also that year and in 1753.

And in 1731 Sarah Henny of Dover Meeting made it. Dover would set off Falmouth Monthly Meeting for the district of Maine in 1751. Salem, Hampton, and Dover Monthly Meetings constituted Salem Quarterly Meeting in 1704.

The origins of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting went back to 1658 when Rhode Island Monthly Meeting was formed as were Sandwich and Salem Monthly Meeting under the authority of London Yearly Meeting. By 1660, a General Meeting was held - to include Friends on Long Island as well. In 1683 this Assembly became with Philadelphia and Jamaica Yearly Meetings became roughly co-equal with London Yearly Meeting. Then in 1699, Dartmouth Monthly Meeting was set up jointly by Rhode Island and Sandwich Monthly Meetings for Friends in the Buzzards Bay area. Similarly Rhode Island Monthly Meeting set up those west of Narraganset Bay in 1699 as Greenwich Monthly Meeting and the two Monthly Meetings along with Rhode Island Monthly Meeting founded Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting. Up to that time a general New England Quarterly Meeting had united Dover, Salem, Pembroke, Sandwich and Rhode Island Monthly Meetings. A second Quarterly Meeting - Westbury by name, united Flushing and Westbury Monthly Meetings - but in 1695 this body was given Yearly Meeting status as New York Yearly Meeting.

Rhode Island Monthly Meeting Friends not yet cited included: Dorcas Easton, wife of Governor John, who came in 1708 for the opening of Nantucket Monthly Meeting; John Wanton, Tiverton shipbuilder who visited in 1718, 1725 and 1747: Daniel Gould, Newport merchant arriving in 1722 and 1724 - as well as his wife Lydia Gould in 1722: John Perry, also of Newport in 1722; Hannah Rodman, in 1724 (formerly of Barbados) and her son Dr. Clark Rodman, in 1724, and 1737 - and daughter Patience Rodman in 1724; Mary Clark, of Jamestown (wife of James) arrived in 1724; John Easton Jr. in 1724 as well; Abraham Chase of Swansea (to become a Monthly Meeting in 1732) in 1727: and Ruth Fish of Newport (soon to marry into Dover Monthly Meeting) in 1729. These additional twelve proved that the heart of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting kept a kindly eye on the faraway Island.

In 1743, Greenwich Monthly Meeting set off the Meetings in Southern Rhode Island as Kingston (later South Kingston) Monthly Meeting. Visitors from this Meeting to Nantucket have already been cited.

From 1730 to 1740 thirteen additional New England Friends put in. From From Rhode Island Monthly Meeting there was Thomas Franklin in 1730 (kin of Benjamin?), Patience Redwood (of that princely family) in 1733 with David Richards, Hannah Proud, kin of Robert the historian put in in 1734. And Sarah (Shearman) Chase, soon to be transferred to Swansea Monthly Meeting, who made it in 1730 and Isaac Chase in 1733 and 1749. Still another Chase, Job, arrived in 1733.

Dartmouth Monthly Meeting also kept a kindly eye on Nantucket - as the record of eight additional visitors would seem to prove. These were William Wood, an Elder who arrived in 1712. Already Daniel Wood who brought the Yearly Meeting Committee over in 1708 should be counted. Nicholas Davis, a Minister, who eventually moved to North Carolina, in 1718 and in 1725:

Stephen Wilcox in 1720 (soon to marry on the Island). Also from Dartmouth came Nathaniel Howland in 1720 (proposed by mischievous Quakers as Minister of the Congregational Church of Dartmouth); Deliverance Smith, Quaker schoolmaster, (imprisoned for not paying his taxes in 1724 and Adam Mott Jr. who also came in 1724. He would prove a faithful visitor coming again in 1736, 1739, 1745, 1749, and in 1750. After 1730, three Dartmouth Friends arrived, i.e. Joshua Wiscom in 1731: Savery Clifton in 1736 and as well that year Meribah Slocomb - of that famous family.

Greenwich Monthly Meeting produced Thomas Steere in 1700, ancestor of the family involved in the Commons Case as Yearly Meeting Appointee. Steere actually lived in Providence which would be set off in 1718 as another Monthly Meeting (and renamed Smithfield in 1731). A second visitor was William Wilkinson, similarly situated who came in 1710 and 1715. A third was Joseph Edmonds who put in in 1728. The fourth and fifth, Moses Aldrich and his kin Samuel Aldrich arrived (the former in 1722 and 1734 and the latter in 1723) from Providence Monthly Meeting. Moses lived in Mendham, Massachusetts which would in time inherit Smithfield Monthly Meeting, as its supervisory body even after a New Providence Monthly Meeting was set up in its own right, (in 1783). Incidentally, Nantucket Monthly Meeting was thus the ninth of those established in New England Yearly Meeting area.

In moving on into the area of New York Yearly Meeting, attention will be drawn to other visitors down to 1740. In all those from New York number but six (one other has been noted earlier). The earliest Monthly Meeting in the New York area was Flushing, founded in 1659. It was represented at the New England General Meeting in 1660 and set up Westbury Monthly Meeting also on Long Island in 1671 - where a regional Meeting was also developed in consequence of the visit of George Fox in 1672. In 1673 a Regional Meeting was also developed in New England, becoming as before observed in time, Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. The Central Meeting on Rhode Island became a Yearly Meeting in 1695, and as well a Quarterly Meeting covering the same area was established.

Only in 1725 was a Monthly Meeting called Purchase set off from Flushing for the mainland. (In fact it was called Westchester Monthly Meeting from 1725 until 1742.) In 1744 Purchase or rather Harrisons Purchase Monthly Meeting set up Oblong Monthly Meeting for Meetings up the Hudson River. These became Purchase Quarterly Meeting in 1745. Thus only three Meetings could supply visitors to Nantucket up from New York to 1740. First, as for Flushing Monthly Meeting; in 1714 Richard Seaman came from that place. In 1722 it was Obadiah Lawrence and in 1724 John Bown Jr., son of the first Quaker on Long Island reached Nantucket from Flushing. And there was Lydia Sowle who came on from Nine Partners in 1736 which was then a part of Purchase Monthly Meeting - though in 1745 and 1749 she arrived with credentials from Nine Partners Monthly Meeting itself. Earlier in 1736, two others, Rachel Seaman and Mary Prior appeared to have come from Westbury Monthly Meeting.

Long Island Quakerism had spilled over into North (that is East) Jersey by 1672 after George Fox's visit, when Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting was authorized by Flushing Friends. Ten years later, Woodbridge Monthly Meeting was divided off from Shrewsbury, and a Regional Meeting set up, which became a Quarterly Meeting and part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1683.

One could consider East Jersey Quakerism an offshoot of New York Yearly Meeting - or more strictly speaking, an extension of New England Yearly Meeting which exercised oversight of Long Island until 1695.

South (that is West) Jersey Quakerism originated in 1675 directly from London. In 1676 Salem Monthly Meeting was set up, and in 1678 Burlington Monthly Meeting (from the Salem jurisdiction). By 1681 a General Meeting for these and others in Pennsylvania was formed, becoming with the East Jersey and Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina Meetings, the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and vicinity in 1683. New England with Long Island and the West Indies elected to form their own three independent Yearly Meetings. Also in 1683 Salem set off Haddenfield Monthly Meeting (first known as Gloucester Monthly Meeting) and in 1684 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting was set up by Burlington Monthly Meeting. Regional Meetings centred on Salem and Burlington started in 1682 and they included Pensylvania Meetings across the river until 1683 or 1684, when they set of Quarterly Meetings in Chester County, Philadelphia County and Bucks County, and in turn became Salem and Burlington Quarterly Meetings. Such rapid growth reflected the arrival of William Penn and the founding of his so-called Holy Experiment.

In 1715 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting founded Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting for Friends settled on the Jersey seacoast. And in 1726 Haddonfield Monthly Meeting set up a similar Monthly Meeting near Cape May called Great Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting. Then in 1744 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting set up Bethlehem Monthly Meeting for Friends in Northwest Jersey. So by mid-century there were eight Monthly Meetings in the two Jerseys (which were, incidentally, joined into one colony early in the 18th century). It is interesting to note which Friends from this colony got to Nantucket in the pre-1740 period. They numbered eight (not counting those already observed).

None came from Shrewsbury and Woodbridge Monthly Meetings but Burlington Monthly Meeting provided Richard Smith Jr. in 1713, he being Quarterly Meeting Clerk and Member of the Colonial Legislature of West Jersey: and as well Peter Fearon in 1716, a sea captain, who was opposed to the sale and use of alcohol: Chesterfield and Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meetings provided no one. Salem Monthly Meeting sent Hugh Clifton in 1732, 1734 and in 1739. No one came from Great Egg Harbor, but Haddonfield was responsible for its founder John Estagh in 1700: Thomas Shakel in 1711; James Lord in 1727; and Joshua Lord (of Woodbury) in 1729 and 1740. James Lord was a close friend of Thomas Chalkley. Finally in 1734 Thomas Evans, probably of Burlington Monthly Meeting, not identified, however, as to Monthly Meeting; put in on the Island.

No less than an additional 29 Friends arrived from Pennsylvania (in this grouping between 1700 and 1740): making a total from that Yearly Meeting in this context of 38 personalities. The Pennsylvania Meetings had come into existence as Friends spilled across the Delaware River from New Jersey. Chester Monthly Meeting was set up by Burlington Monthly Meeting in 1681, followed by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1682, after the General Meeting had been established in Burlington. Later that year, Burlington Quarterly Meeting was established for the Upper Valley and Salem Quarterly Meeting for the lower part. By 1684, Chester had set off Concord and Darby Monthly Meetings and for them there came into operation Chester Quarterly Meeting. In 1683, Burlington Monthly

Meeting created Falls Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania, which with Philadelphia Monthly Meeting became parts of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. This was the year that equal Yearly Meeting status with London was achieved. And in 1683 Abington Monthly Meeting was also created, by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting; and Middletown Monthly Meeting by Falls Monthly Meeting, so that the latter two emerged as Bucks Quarterly Meeting; and the former two as Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. In 1684, Haverford Monthly Meeting was set off by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in that Quarterly Meeting. Then in 1685 Newcastle Monthly Meeting in Delaware was set off by Chester Monthly Meeting. This body developed its own Quarterly Meeting two years later. Thereby four Quarterly Meetings lined the West Bank of the Delaware to match the two to the East in a period of five years time. In 1692 the Kiethian separation somewhat inhibited this rapid growth, and in fact caused the Newcastle Quarterly Meeting to be laid down - Newcastle Monthly Meeting then being put under Chester Quarterly Meeting jurisdiction. (Changing its name to Newark Monthly Meeting, still latter to Kennett Monthly Meeting). In 1705 Newark Monthly Meeting set up Duck Creek Monthly Meeting in Southern Delaware. In 1714, Haverford Monthly Meeting set up Gwynydd Monthly Meeting for its western portion. Then in 1718, Newark Monthly Meeting set up New Garden Monthly Meeting for its western frontier, while in 1720 Middletown did the same by creating Buckingham Monthly Meeting in Bucks County. This was followed by Chester setting up Goshan Monthly Meeting for its northern section, and in 1729 New Garden setting off Nottingham for its western area including Northern Maryland.

Then in 1737 Oley Monthly Meeting (later Reading) appeared on the western frontier of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, while Newark similarly set up Bradford Monthly Meeting; and New Garden, Sadsbury Monthly Meeting, already in Bucks County, Buckingham had already created Wrightstown Monthly Meeting in 1734 - and Nottingham had set up Hopewell Monthly Meeting in Northern Virginia for as well, Maryland and Pennsylvania. So by 1740 Bucks Quarterly Meeting consisted of four Monthly Meetings; Philadelphia of five, and Chester of eleven (one wholly in Delaware - two others only partly in Pennsylvania.) Eighteen Monthly Meetings in Pennsylvania far outsistanced the number of those in any other colony.

The first visitor from Falls Monthly Meeting in Bucks Quarterly Meeting was Edward Tyler of Bristol, who appeared in 1734 and 1735. Arthur Jones who followed him in 1736 may have been a Falls Friend. In any case, he was generally considered as being too critical of New England Friends. In 1724 John Rutledge of Middletown Monthly Meeting had appeared. But in this grouping no one visited from Buckingham nor from Wrightstown Monthly Meetings.

From Philadelphia Monthly Meeting itself, the largest in the colonies, there appeared Hugh Durborough in 1709, a man who distinguished himself in

attacking the Kiethians, John Oxley in 1712 who was in process of settling in from London: similarly in 1713 Tristram Allen arrived from Ireland as did James Cooper In 1716, a tailor of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, Christopher Blackburn put in. Ten years later there was Margaret (Langdale) Preston and in 1728 a possible Philadelphian in the figure of Joseph Taylor. In 1731 Ruth Jones of that Monthly Meeting visited, and the next year it was the turn of Richard Wall. Finally in 1737 Elijah Collins ventured ventured north, making a total (in this grouping) of nine Philadelphians to reach Nantucket.

Abington Monthly Meeting produced Richard Gove in 1703, the founder of Plymouth Meeting, and one who sat on the committees to witness the setting off of Carolina and Virginia Yearly Meetings in 1698. In 1711, Thomas Potts of Abington itself followed. In 1726 it was the turn of Grace Lloyd, wife of the Governor Thomas Lloyd. And in 1729, Martha Wood from Abington appeared. Ebenezer Long, another Pennsylvanian visitor of that year may also have come from this Monthly Meeting. Gwynedd Monthly Meeting produced two key Welsh Friends; Evan Evans "steady, inward", and John Evans, his kinsman who put "judgement to the line." They came in 1728. With them was Susannah Morris of Richland Preparative Meeting (wife of Morris Morris) who was shipwrecked en route. But no one from Haverford nor Oley Monthly Meetings reached the Island.

Chester Monthly Meeting produced Rebecca Minshall of Providence Preparative Meeting in 1733. Earlier in 1730 Mary Pennell possibly of Springfield Preparative Meeting had appeared with Mary Lewis, perhaps her neighbor. Darby Monthly Meeting was represented by its founder in the figure of Joseph Smith who came three times in 1708, 1712 and 1728. And in 1724 Thomas Lightfoot, another Darby member, largely responsible for the Book of Discipline of 1719 came along. Concord, Bradford, Goshon and Sadsbury Monthly Meeting produced no one. But the founders of New Garden Monthly Meeting did appear. These were John Lowdon and Francis Swain, the latter kin of the Nantucket family of that name. They appeared in 1713. And in 1725 they were followed by Elizabeth (Reed) Levis a member of Kennett Preparative Meeting in Newark Monthly Meeting, "no busy-body but strongly anti-alcoholic." And finally there was Michael Lightfoot of Nottingham Monthly Meeting who visited in 1739. Apparently no one came from Hopewell Monthly Meeting.

Michael Lightfoot was the only Maryland Friend to make it. But three Virginians arrived: James Bates, founder of Scimino Meeting, visited in 1702 and spoke at the meeting in which Mary Starbuck became a Friend. One other was Robert Jordon, of an unknown Virginia Meeting who appeared in 1722. The last was Samuel Jordan, similarly vaguely placed whose visit occurred in 1737, probably kin of Robert.

Quakerism in Maryland dates from 1656 that is even before Rhode Island and certainly before New York. West River Monthly Meeting dates from about that time though it apparently met only sporadically. By 1660 Thirdhaven Monthly Meeting emerged on the Eastern Shore. Probably a general meeting was called into existence in 1672, through the visit of George Fox. By 1679 two Quarterly Meetings evolved, about the West River and Thirdhaven centers, indicating that a Monthly Meeting on the cliffs in the western shore and one at Accomac on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in fact had come into existence. A bit later Northampton Monthly Meeting was founded for

Friends at the tip of the eastern shore of Virginia. And in 1698 Cecil Monthly Meeting was formed for Meetings at the head of the Chesapeake Bay.

With the establishment of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1683, West River and Thirdhaven Quarterly Meetings were attached to it as was Shrewsbury Quarterly Meeting in East Jersey and other Quarterly Meetings southwards. However, the General Meetings continued to be held in a semi-autonomous situation not unlike the National Half Years Meeting for Ireland in its relationship to London Yearly Meeting. It would seem that Accomac and Northampton Monthly Meetings were transferred to Lower Quarterly Meeting in Virginia Yearly Meeting about 1698. Accomac Monthly Meeting faded about 1750 and within twenty years, Northampton Monthly Meeting was gone also. None of these coastal Meetings sent Ministers to Nantucket.

Virginia got its first Quakers in 1658 (after New York). Chuckatuck Monthly Meeting emerged about 1660, again an irregular gathering. Levi Neck Monthly Meeting followed in a short time - and a General Meeting was organized again by Fox himself in 1673. About the time the Eastern Shore Meetings were transferred that is about 1698, Philadelphia agreed to the setting off of an independent Yearly Meeting for the two Quarterly Meetings in Virginia. Another Monthly Meeting was founded in Surrey County in 1673 called Surrey Monthly Meeting (later Blackwater). Henrico Monthly Meeting was set off from this about 1699 and in 1739 another was set off at Cedar Creek. These two Meetings became Upper Quarterly Meeting about that time, as the Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting which dated from 1698, or so, was fading out. It is probable that Henrico and Cedar Creek Monthly Meetings provided the three visitors whom we have noted as reaching Nantucket.

Carolina Quakerism had a similarly cloudy origin. In 1671 Perquimons Monthly Meeting was founded and in 1681 Pasquotank Monthly Meeting. Together they formed a General Meeting. It was probably within the bounds of the first of these that William Piggott settled on his way from England and visited Nantucket in 1727 (he was originally of Ratcliffe Monthly Meeting). This William proved to be the original ancestor of the famous Quaker Pickett family. Already in 1698 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting approved the creation of Carolina Yearly Meeting (though like New York Yearly Meeting for some years was composed of only one Quarterly Meeting - which evolved from the General Meeting.

In 1718, Charleston, South Carolina Monthly Meeting was set up under the authority of London Yearly Meeting as it lay farther south from Perquimons than New York lay north of that early Quaker center. In 1731 the care of Charleston Monthly Meeting was given to Philadelphia Friends. It formed a part of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting from thence onwards. Then in 1733, London Yearly Meeting authorized the settlement of Core Sound Monthly Meeting which in 1742 was transferred to Carolina Quarterly Meeting and Yearly Meeting. London Yearly Meeting then set up Carvers Creek and Dunns Creek

in the Cape Fear section in 1743. These Meetings came under the care of Carolina Friends in 1752. Then in 1748. Falling Creek Monthly Meeting was set off from Pasquotank Monthly Meeting. So Carolina Monthly Meeting was then composed of six Monthly Meetings. In 1751 Philadelphia Friends spilling down the Piedmont from Hopewell, Virginia, set up Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. Here was the nucleous of a Western Quarterly Meeting, whose story comes later.

When Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was recognized in 1683, not only did New England prefer her own independent Yearly Meeting, but so did the West Indies. The original Monthly Meeting in that area was Spightstown, found on Barbadoes possibly as early as 1655. Soon afterwards, one or two others were settled on Jamaica, but these suffered from the anarchistic outlook of Jane Stokes who went there in 1664 fresh from Nantucket. At the time of George Fox's visit to Barbadoes in 1671, some recovery took place on Jamaica. A General Meeting for the Islands became a Yearly Meeting in 1683. Some time after that Fat Hog Bay Monthly Meeting was set up on Tortola. No Quarterly Meeting structure appears to have been utilized. By mid-century the Jamaica Meetings faded and those left went back to the authority of London Yearly Meeting. The farther south one goes, the more difficult it is to be precise, for records were scanty and often lost. But it is possible to state that there were about forty Monthly Meetings in America when Nantucket Monthly Meeting was founded, and this number had grown to about 60 when 1740 was reached.

During the 1700-1740 period as well, some 29 British Friends visited - seven of these from the National Meeting in Ireland (in addition, of course, to the worthies encountered in earlier chapters.) The Irish consisted of John Butler, who came in 1704: Paul Jones a visitor in 1732: and Abigail Bowles who made it earlier in 1726: Mungo Bewley of Edenderry Monthly Meeting, made it in 1733 and his companion of Lambstown Monthly Meeting, Samuel Stephens. In 1738 Susannah Hudson (later Hatton - still later wife of Thomas Lightfoot of Uwchlan Monthly Meeting (Pennsylvania) visited with Ruth Courtney.

As for England, the Mary Bannister who came in 1705 and 1715 from Devonshire House Monthly Meeting (where London Yearly Meeting was held) probably introduced the Quaker numerical calendar on the Island. It is not clear if other London Friends reached Nantucket, though the following could have originated there: Mary Lawson, 1706, John Giles, 1713: James Graham, 1717: Robert Willsons, 1728, John Burton, 1734. and John Hunt , 1739. Certainly the literary Friend William Armitead who appeared in 1706 was a Londoner. Cumberland Quarterly Meeting produced James Dickinson in 1713 and William Armstrong in 1717 "a man of universal spirit". John Danson of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting who visited in 1719 and died later in Chester, Pennsylvania was probably a Member of this Quarterly Meeting. Margaret Copeland was unquestionably a Westmoreland Friend appearing in 1733. Yorkshire produced a good many visitors. Four came from that area in 1719: Isaac Hadwin (possible ancestor of the later Nantucket family of that name); Rebecca Turner: Elizabeth (Rawlinson) Rawlinson and her kinswoman Lydia (Beck) Lancaster, both of Lancaster Monthly Meeting. In 1721 John Appleton followed. And in 1722 Lawrence King a

member of York Monthly Meeting itself. The Rowland Wilson of Great Strickland Monthly Meeting who appeared in 1728 may be listed here. And in 1733, Hannah Dent and Alice Alderson appeared from Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. Finally, in 1724 Benjamin Kidd, a schoolteacher from Oxfordshire finishes off the British contingent.

The enormous flow of concerned visitors brought from outside the necessary vision and perspective which affected healing in the body politic in the Society of Friends. The Quaker fellowship was transoceanic and intercolonial - though admittedly British Commonwealth in flavor and as I said at the outset of this round-up of names of visitors consisted of hardly known personalities to us. The were, however, individual Friends loved and appreciated by Elihu Coleman. In the next chapter, a similar run-down will be given of the hitherto not accounted for visitors from 1740 to 1780.

Not only was Elihu Coleman's house in effect the replacement of the original Parliament House as the heart center of Nantucket Quakerism - at least from 1722 to 1733 - it was the birthplace of six of Elihu and Jemima's eight children - seven of them girls. Ruth the eldest was born in 1721 when the house on the moors; "this Sion of land" as it is called was being planned. Twenty years later she would marry David Coffin, son of miller Samuel. At that time Elihu was asked by the Meeting to look into the needs of widow Newbegin.

Then in 1723 son and heir William arrived, due in time, during the great Commons Case upheaval to travel to Philadelphia with John Pemberton, to carry a letter to his powerful brother Israel Pemberton. William was also equipped with a letter certifying his pacifist principles during King George's war. He married in 1756, choosing Eunice Swain, a granddaughter of Moses Swett, one time Hampton Monthly Meeting (Massachusetts) member, great-granddaughter of the original Nantucket Quaker. At that time Elihu Coleman had become a weighty Yearly Meeting Friend, both in regular and select sessions.

In 1724 a second daughter Eunice was born. In 1743 her marriage to John Macy 3rd cemented an alliance between the second and third Clerks of the Select Preparative Meeting. Elihu was chairman of the visiting committee that year. The third daughter, Phoebe, followed in 1726. She wed Seth Folger, grandson of John (born in Edgartown) and of Thomas Clark (one-time Plymouth resident) in 1745 as Elihu was becoming a Quarterly Meeting stalwart.

The fifth child (fourth daughter) Anna, followed in 1728. Her advent nearly coincided with Elihu's first assignment to repair the original Meeting House. She would marry in 1749 choosing John Coffin, son of Tristram Coffin, in turn head of the Edgartown Friends Meeting. John was lost at sea in 1755 as noticed earlier, so Anna re-married in 1764, choosing Jonathan Gardner, son of Elder Barnabas Gardner. The year before that Anna's eldest sister, Ruth Coffin died, aged 42, leaving nine children. Five years after Ruth, Anna (Coleman) Coffin-Gardner also died (1768) leaving three orphans. Also

in 1768, Anna's sister Eunice Macy also died leaving eight children. The loss of two daughters in one year marked, as it were, the closing of Elihu's public career among Friends. He was at Quarterly Meeting twice that year and served on three Marriage Committees. In 1768 Rachel Wilson would clear his name in her informal dual Meeting Arbitration.

Elihu's sixth child Priscilla, was born in 1731 after he started his Quarterly Meeting career, and wrote his now famous pamphlet against slavery. Already in 1729 he served on the first of four marriage application cases, which totalled seven by 1731. Priscilla married Peter Coffin Jr. grandson of John of Edgartown in 1750, as Elihu began attending Yearly Meeting. And Priscilla died in 1770 leaving six children. In 1773 occured Elihu's final marriage oversight responsibility. One grandson was disowned that year, setting an example which was soon widely followed in that generation. It may well have been that Elihu Coleman considered disownment a shame in fact, a reflection upon himself.

Elihu and Jemima's seventh child, Mary, was born in 1733 as the old Meeting House became Benjamin Coffin's school. That year Elihu served on William Swan's Marriage Committee - the only one in which the participants got cold feet and withdrew. The year before he sat on Minister David Gardner's Marriage Committee. In 1759 Mary Coleman married Shubael Pinkham Jr., as his second wife. Elihu was busy procuring apologies from David Gardner and Richard Macy at that time.

Finally Elihu's eighth child (seventh daughter) Abigail was born in 1735. As the first Meeting House was about to go up in flames that was the year Elihu was recorded in the Ministry. Such was a good omen for Abigail married Micajah Coffin, the most outstanding of teacher Benjamin's sons in 1756, one who had also received a pacifist war certificate.

On the fact of it, despite the loss of four of his seven daughters, Elihu's family appeared promising. But the grandchildren for the most part belonged to the rebellious revolutionary generation. For them for the most part, Quakerism was too restrictive. By the time Elihu died in 1789, no less than 30 had been disowned out of a total of 63 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Of the 33 still members, 15 had emigrated) five of the faithful 18 left on the Island never married. However in sober contrast, nothing was left of Nathaniel Coleman's heritage in a family way by 1781. Notwithstanding, it was obvious by 1789 that Nantucket Quakerism was badly blighted.

In the 45 years from 1728 to 1773, Elihu Coleman accepted at least 92 appointments under the care of the Meeting, 28 of these had to do with marriage oversight including such personalities as Silvanus Allen, Caleb Stratton, Richard Worth, Minister Richard Mitchell, Zaccheus Macy (the bone setter) William Russell, Timothy Folger, Paul Macy, and Richard Macy (the second time). Quarterly Meeting work involved him in 1730, 1731, 1732, 1734

1735, 1736, 1745, 1747, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1766 and 1768 - a total of 36 times . Yearly Meeting claimed attention in 1750, 1756, 1761, 1762, 1763 and 1764 - a total of 11 times. And there was care with Caleb Stratton over the support of his mother, a Travelling Minute to Philadelphia in 1746 and one in 1762 to Long Island. In 1753 there was the service on the Discipline Committee, and to request a book of discipline in 1761. Not to mention "clerking" the Select Meeting from 1751 to 1771.

Obviously Elihu Coleman gathered the inspiration for his life's work from those visitors who flowed through Nantucket in the 1700-1740 period. He was aged five when the Meeting for Worship was established in the old Parliament House in 1704. He was aged 36 when he became a recorded Minister himself in 1735. Already the life of the Meeting which had bubbled next door to his house from 1722 to 1733 was removed to town. He represented the Quaker establishment of the old Colonial period. By 1760 this age was on the way out. Elihu's effectiveness similarly was fading.

It is appropriate here to look for more evidences of change as they came. One extraordinary fact stands out. Except for the temporary disownments of the four victims of the Great Commons Case, practically no ex-Nantucket Friends were to be found on the Island before 1763. Tabitha (Trott) Frost-Brown was disowned in 1713 for bigamy, but she lived after that in Newport, dying there in 1749 aged 70. Stephen Hussey lived only a year after his disownment in 1717, dying aged 84, Shubael Coffin lived six years after his disownment in 1731 for drunkenness, dying in 1737 aged 43.

But then in 1763 John Waterman and his common law wife were put out. He lived on 29 years rightly annoyed that the Meeting was so narrow-minded as to put him out, dying in 1792 aged 59. Mary (Beard) Waterman, his common law wife continued on 58 years longer until 1821. When aged 81 she died. Their children must have regarded the Meeting as irrelevant at best. The Watermans were followed in the decade by 54 others similarly permanently disowned. They and their offspring constituted a dissatisfied anti-Quaker element in town, which due to grow to some hundreds by the early decades of the 19th century. Could any small relatively isolated community tolerate such antagonism without itself becoming embittered? The folly of disownment appears obvious to us. Somehow it did not to 18th and 19th century Quakers. What was worse, most disownments occurred simply for marrying without seeking Meeting counsel and oversight. It took courage for young people to stand up and say their vows before a large Meeting. Disownment for refusal to do so - erected so formidable a barrier that most young Friends prefered to seek their religious lives outside the Quaker orbit. Such narrowness spelt out group suicide - in the case of Nantucket, exactly the history of its once thriving Quaker Meeting.

Among the 56 Friends disowned permanently from 1763 to 1773, 42 were put out for marrying out: that is three quarters of those discarded. To be more specific, 42 new anti-Quaker households were set up on the Island. Probably a quarter of these emigrated, but the thirty or so households who

who stayed were better treated as those who had been who married out before 1763 - simply relegated to the status of inactive Members potentially recoverable - but only after formal apology was made and which were often kept "in litigation" for months or years until the culprits were proved absolutely sincere. Even then, such apologies did not always stick. New situations arose and old transgressors broke the "law" with extraordinary alacrity.

It is, however, interesting to note at this point those disownments put in motion for other than marriage out. The first such case is a mystery. It was for Edmond Heath, aged 42, who had married in Meeting nineteen years before and who was put out with one month's dealing for the peculiar crime of "ill rumour." Childless, he may have taken to frequenting the dock area, where standards were admittedly rough. He would continue another 41 years an ex-Quaker, resident on the Island, dying in 1804 aged 83. His departure date was significantly 1763.

In 1769, Phoebe Bunker, aged fifteen, daughter of Paul Bunker, granddaughter of Jabez, and of Samuel Gardner (through her mother) was put out for attending the Congregational Church. This meant in effect marrying under its care in 1772. Now Quakers oppose the practice of a professional clergy. To marry under the care of a "priest" was to condone the paid clergy. Here objections to marriage were re-inforced by a negative tendency to accept conventional religious standards. Still disownment was a pretty good example of negative over-reacting . In the case of Phoebe, she apologized in 1780, and came back into Meeting - but her family remained outside.

Similar to this case was that of Miriam (Stratton) Perry, aged 54 in 1770, when she was charged with "outgoings." That is, attending the Congregational Church. Obviously Friends Meeting no longer spoke to her needs. She had married in 1740 under the care of the Meeting, uniting then with James Perry, a Quaker on-comer from Westerly, Rhode Island. He was put out in 1771 for supporting her. Their five children all met similar fates. In fact, theirs was the first entire household on Nantucket to be chucked out in toto. And her brother, Caleb Stratton re-married out and was also put out in 1771. As well, four of his eleven children were disowned from 1771 to 1774. (One admittedly for mothering a bastard.)

Also in 1770, Enoch Coleman, aged 45, and his wife Mary (Myrick) Coleeman were disowned for "robbery." This in our eyes constitutes even now, a major shortcoming. It would seem they had defrauded others, possibly on whaling shares. The Myricks were whaling capitalists. Both Enoch and Mary had joined Meeting by marrying under its care in 1748. All seven of their children were put out in the years that followed. Ironically they became, in time, great-grandparents to Maria Mitchell, the famous Nantucket Quaker astronomer.

Still in 1770 still another "crime" was observed, that of "concubinage". It seemed Tristram Barnard, aged 22, had picked up one Betsey Mackie while off whaling. His sister was the Phoebe Barnard who had joined the Congregationalists and then came back into Meeting. Next year, Elijah Coffin, aged 23, son of Hezekiah Coffin, grandson of Jethro Folger (head of Meeting) was disowned for

pre-maritial sex as well as marriage out of the care of the Meeting to Abigail Folger, daughter of non-Quaker Zaccheus. He would die miserably in one of the notorious British prison ships in New York Harbor in 1781.

In 1772, Nathaniel Jenkins, aged 25, son of Peter, grandson of Matthew, was disowned for siring an illegitimate child. This was followed in 1773 by the disownment of William Swain Jr., aged 43 for having married out in 1750 (?) and for wharf fighting. William had married Lydia, daughter of Stephen Gorham of Yarmouth Meeting. His wharf rat opponent was Peleg Coffin Jr., aged 17, who was forgiven after being dealt with. (He was grandson of the George Hussey who was put out of Meeting for drunkenness a decade later.)

The case of Philip Chase, aged 27, on-comer from Swansea Meeting is interesting, for he was caught playing cards, "pernicious," as "gaming of all sorts is attended by the most grievous consequences." Seven years had not made a Nantucket Quaker of this outlander. Finally, also in 1773 came the departure of Timothy Folger, aged 41, representative to the General Court, or Legislature, who had taken an oath. Timothy was a grandson of Paine Mayhew and thus a great-great grandson of old Governor Thomas Mayhew. Apparently he took his oath to King George seriously. After the Revolutionary War period, he played a leading role in the migration back to the old country. Timothy offered to resign so that he obviously held nothing against the Meeting in taking action against him.

During the five years from 1768 to 1773 probably 200 Quakers left Nantucket Meeting, three quarters by emigration, one quarter through disownment. Still the momentum of earlier growth pushed the Meeting upwards in numbers. The 1778 list in comparison with that of 1768 (at peak tide) reveals if anything, small growth. Such growth hid the body blow which disownment as an institution spelt out in the long run for Nantucket Quakerism. From 1763 to 1768, disownment was considered a disgrace. From 1768 to 1773 it was a kind of badge of courage. Then the Revolutionary War swept everything into a new vortex. Elihu Coleman ceased his Meeting service in 1773. He was probably quietly at home, except in health, sitting on the high seat on the facing bench in the men's Meeting Room for the last of his fifteen years on Nantucket.

CHAPTER 21

BENJAMIN COFFIN

In which the "little draper" trained up the middle generation of 18th century Nantucketers.

272-End

Benjamin Coffin, 1705-1780, paternal grandfather of Lucretia (Coffin) Mott, in turn the most famous of all Nantucketers, was the sixth of nine children of Captain Nathaniel Coffin, 1671-1721, and his wife the heiress Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, 1673-1764. Benjamin's paternal grandfather was thus the original chief magistrate old Tristram Coffin, while maternal grandfather was the pro-Quaker magistrate, William Gayer- who could trace descent directly from the English crown. Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, the Quaker founder, was his great-aunt. Similarly, but through his mother, Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. was his great-uncle. The women's First Clerk, Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck was his aunt.

Benjamin, however, was not raised in the Meeting. Captain Nathaniel was a worldly figure, who had in mind living up to the inheritance which came to his wife in 1712 or 1713. His sloop was that chiefly responsible for linking the Island to the mainland. He was taken prisoner by the French during Queen Ann's war and perished in the great hurricane which closed Capaum Harbor (or in another storm near that time). By 1721 his three eldest daughters had married: Dorcas in 1710 to John Soley; Christian in 1715 to John Edwards; and Lydia in 1714 to Joseph Chase. Soley and Edwards were apparently Bostonians. Chase was a Vineyarder. Two more children married in 1722. William, Nathaniel's son and heir wed Ann Holmes of Boston; and Charles his second son wed Mary Barratt of the same place. William stayed in the Massachusetts metropolis while Charles migrated from Boston to Nantucket and back several times. Given the connections of these five offsprings, is it any wonder that they never joined Meeting. Still another of the family followed the Boston route away from the Island. He was Gayer Coffin, the seventh child, younger brother of Benjamin, who married Rebecca Parker in Boston in 1780. Meanwhile in 1726 Benjamin, then aged 21, elected to marry under the care of the Meeting, choosing Jedidah Hussey, 1708-1759. The first birthright Friend of Nantucket Meeting, daughter of Batchellor Hussey, who would emigrate to Biddeford, Maine in 1737. At the time Benjamin married, his mother, widow Demaris Coffin turned plain and joined her sister as a Friend. Benjamin was joined in 1727 by his next brother, Nathaniel Coffin Jr., in the Men's Meeting. He would marry in 1735 under the care of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting, one Mary Sheffield, of a wealthy migrant family of Newport. A final sibling, Catherine, took to attending the Women's Monthly Meeting about 1730, but married out in 1736, becoming one of those nominal members in limbo who were forgotten, never disowned.

Bethuel Gardner's family were mostly members of the Congregational Church, notably his brother Grindall Gardner. In effect, the only member of Captain Nathaniel's family to become a really faithful Quaker was the subject of this final profile in this series. For Nathaniel, his fashionable wife, and almost all their numerous family were disowned during the American Revolutionary War.

After Captain Nathaniel's death, Damaris turned over the care of her large fortune to Benjamin who had the distinction of introducing double-entry book-keeping on the Island. In 1732 he bought the old Meeting House out by Elihu Coleman's dwelling and opened the original famous Coffin school which ran from 1733 to 1777 or 44 years, and through which passed the boys at least of the middle years of the 18th century. This was not a Meeting School in any direct sense, but it took the place of such. Other similar "Quaker" schools were opened in the 1750's and 1760's but none achieved the fame of the "little draper's" establishment. Early on it became Benjamin's practice to accept whaling shares - and to exchange sheep commons and other proprietry certificates. This was a natural development as Benjamin Coffin was from 1748 to 1765 the clerk of the Proprietary. Double-entry bookkeeping led to keeping track of investments and in fact the school office became the first investment house or bank on the Island. In this sense, Benjamin Coffin took on the activities of the original Starbuck emporium which closed out its activities probably about 1723. Of course the old Meeting House-cum-school burned in 1736, so that Benjamin re-opened his school, probably in rented quarters at first, somewhere on Upper Main Street in Nantucket town.

Meanwhile in 1730, Benjamin Coffin started his half-century career as Monthly Meeting Committee man, in which he undertook at least 150 responsibilities for the Meeting. His first job was to see Minister Richard Mitchell married in 1730. In 1734 it was Minister Joseph Jenkins for whom he was responsible. Marriage appointments numbered, however, only about 20, surprisingly few, but perhaps indicative that the Meeting felt he was better used elsewhere.

In 1736 he wrote three Quarterly Meeting reports, the first of forty such in the next forty years. It might be stated that Benjamin's pen was considered the most appropriate for this service for over four decades. In addition, this special school teacher got to Newport on occasion for sessions of that august body. In 1740, Benjamin was asked to engrave the Pennsylvania law on Affirmations which John Kinsey had sent north at the onset of King George's war.

Benjamin Coffin was certainly one of those expected from 1740 onwards to undertake to entertain visiting Friends. It is thus appropriate later in this chapter to undertake a run-down of visitors from 1740 to 1780 (when Benjamin died) as a sequel to the forty year survey covered in the account of Elihu Coleman.

In 1741, Benjamin became Treasurer of Monthly Meeting in the place of his cousin Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. It was at this point that double-entry book-keeping was formally introduced. In 1743 he was named administrator of the intestate property of Nathaniel Barnard 3rd, son of Judith Wilcox. The next year increased business, and possible rivalry with Caleb Macy's investment-insurance bureau founded in 1742, led Benjamin to resign the Meeting treasury which went to John Macy Jr. Quarterly Meeting appointments continued, however,

visiting Friends. He was also asked to help get up the transfer out for Minister Sarah Worth (later Mead.)

In 1752 he bought three copies of Barclay's apology, and in 1753 served on the Discipline Committee. In 1754 he was asked to take the Commons Case to Quarterly Meeting, but get excused from that service in 1755. In 1757 he served on the Membership Committee. Two years later he succeeded Silvanus Hussey as Monthly Meeting Clerk. But as Benjamin's services were more clerical than executive, in 1761 he turned over the Clerk's chair to Joseph Marshall Jr. (similarly a schoolteacher). But Benjamin continued to sit by him to pen the Minutes, which probably he had done for Silvanus Hussey possibly from 1747 onwards.

In 1763, Benjamin was put on the Committee to police the youth galleries. And he sat on the Committee which recommended casting John and Mary Waterman out of the Quaker Fellowship. He and William Rotch were also asked that year to check on an imposter who pretended to be a Quaker Member at Fayal in the Cape Verde Islands. That was the first year he was reported as representative from the Preparative to the Monthly Meeting. (First of 22 such appointments undertaken in a decade.)

In 1764, Benjamin was one to buy a copy of George Fox's discipline. And he was paid sixteen Spanish thalers for transcribing the Book of Discipline itself to which he made additions in 1774. In 1766 the now veteran schoolmaster was asked to deal with Benjamin Barney over a legal situation which had developed over his mother's will. Already he had sat in 1765 on the Membership Committee of George Lawrence. In 1766 it was the turn of Silas Parker's request. And in 1767 that of Stephen Arthur and John Sweet. And in 1768 he wrote a transfer for Francis Rotch who left town for a career in London society as it turned out. In 1768, Coffin also ordered a copy of Penn's works. Incidentally, Benjamin wrote at least 32 Minutes of Transfer in these later years, as well as dealt with a few more applications of Membership. But his chief act in 1768 was to write the Boston Legislature to make sure they would not count on help from the Island if they opted for violent revolution.

In 1769 Benjamin sat on the Arbitration Committee dealing with David and Reuben Gardner's quarrel over property. In 1772 he had to deal with Minister David regarding his receiving stolen goods and allowing his daughter to marry out. And in 1780 he was in his final years of service on the question of stolen goods in principle. On occasion beginning in 1770, Coffin served as Monthly Meeting Clerk for the day: in fact acting for Peleg Folger, who inherited that post in 1773 from Joseph Marshall Jr. The year 1770 marked by appointments to draw Minutes of Disownment notably against Enoch Coleman for robbery and Tristram Barnard for "concubinage." There were at least sixteen other such assignments, including writing a Minute against freemasonry in general and in 1771 against Jethro Hussey in particular for joining the masons in 1773. In 1775 one case involved Benjamin Marshall joining the continental army.

In 1770 Benjamin made a report on land held by the Meeting as he found them in the records of the Proprietary. And the next time he served on a

Committee recommending procedure regarding Quarterly Meeting reversals on Monthly Meeting judgements. Three more Returning Minutes fell to Coffin's share in 1772, nearly a quarter century after his first such assignment. One for William Coffin back from North Carolina was written in 1774. In 1773 Benjamin had to deal with Stephen Hussey, Representative to the General Court for taking an oath. The next year he was putting query answers into an epistle which required particular skill. In 1775 a letter recommending Shubael Coffin, off to protect Nantucket whaling interests in London, was written. And an apology from Miriam Hobbs was sent off to North Carolina. That was the year Benjamin Coffin manumitted three slaves, probably under pressure from Yearly Meeting. That year Stephen Hopkins, Governor of Rhode Island, was disowned for refusal to comply with this Yearly Meeting provision. Benjamin Coffin would appear to have been more conservative on the negro question than were other Nantucketers notably his cousin Elihu Coleman.

Before turning to the wider Quaker world as it was represented by visitors on Nantucket, some note must be taken of Benjamin's extensive family. He had in fact, fifteen children! Twelve were born to Jedidah his first wife; three to Deborah (Macy) Coffin 1729-?, daughter of Treasurer Thomas Macy whom he married as second wife in 1762, three years after Jedidah's death.

Half of Benjamin's family by his first wife emigrated from Nantucket during his lifetime.

Reuben, born in 1727 was the first to go in 1747, when he married Mary Joy, a daughter of David Joy (by his first wife). They went to live in Dartmouth, to become part of the Nantucket origins of New Bedford. William, born in 1730, next in line to emigrate, married Hephzibah Barney, Benjamin's daughter in 1754 (she sister to William Rotch's wife). Hephzibah died in 1767 so William remarried in 1768, choosing Lydia Coleman, daughter of Elder Jethro. Two more children were added to the original five and then they emigrated in 1775 to Saratoga Monthly Meeting in Eastern New York. One of William and Hephzibah's children Sarah, then aged 13, elected to remain on the Island. In 1786 she would marry James Barker, son of Robert, and eventually emigrate.

The third to go was Benjamin Coffin Jr., born in 1732; and wed in 1754 to Elizabeth Hussey, daughter of Captain Daniel. They left in 1773 for North Carolina. Also in 1773, Anna (Coffin) Clasby, born in 1740, and wed in 1763 to Charles Clasby (son of the original William) took off for North Carolina probably with two or three minor children, in 1773. And as well in 1773, Seth Coffin, born in 1742 and wed Lydia Barnard in 1767 (daughter of William) removed thence with one or two small children. Finally in this grouping was to be found Elihu Coffin, born 1746, who went to Maine in 1770 to marry his cousin Jedidah Hussey, daughter of Paul, granddaughter of the imigrant Batchellor. They made their home there under the care of Dover Monthly Meeting initially.

In addition their half-brother, Thomas Coffin, born in 1776, and married to Anna Folger, daughter of William, in 1790, eventually emigrated to New York State with his family including Lucretia Coffin, the future anti-slavery advocate. Did she know how slow her grandfather had been slow to enfranchise his slaves?

Four of Benjamin's fifteen children got disowned. The first so to be cast out was his twelfth child, Abner Coffin, born in 1753, who married Elizabeth Gardner, daughter of Peleg in 1775. She was no Quaker and Meeting in 1774 would not agree to his courtship. The next to go was Benjamin's second child (and son) Nathaniel, born in 1729, and married in Meeting to Rebecca Coleman in 1754, (she daughter of Barnabus Coleman, many years Clerk of the Select Meeting). He was put out in 1778 for involvement in the war effort (as was his uncle Nathaniel). Rebecca died in 1777 and this family floated without exception out of Meeting (five children in all) between 1784 and 1797). The third was Abraham Coffin, the eleventh child born in 1750; who married out, off-Island one Hannah Gaskill in 1780, the year his father died. The actual disownment was only formulated in 1782, like seven other of his siblings he emigrated. The fourth to go was their half brother, Benjamin's thirteenth child, the Hon. Isaac Coffin, born in 1764 and married in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, to Margaret Swain, daughter of Francis in 1792. Issac Coffin's disownment came well after Benjamin's death. Isaac, however, returned to live on Nantucket, where five other siblings had stayed.

Only three of these continued in Membership with the Meeting. First there was Micajah Coffin, the fifth child, born in 1734, and married to Abigail Coleman, daughter of Minister Elihu, in 1756. They had four children all loyal Friends. Then there was Abigail, the sixth child, born in 1736, who married Matthew Macy, son of Jabez in 1755 and died in 1758 leaving one son, who emigrated in 1773 with his father, step-mother, and four half-siblings to North Carolina. Thus in fact, loyal membership in Meeting was cut to two: the second being Deborah Coffin, the fifteenth child born in 1768, half-sister to Micajah. She never married, so in effect, Micajah was left to carry on alone of the fifteen of the line his father had started. (That is of sescendants within the Meeting). d When Lucretia (Coffin) Mott returned to preach in the Nantucket Hicksite Meeting House in the 1830's, only one uncle of all the possible eleven on her father's side was still alive, and he was a "worldly" magistrate. Did they meet on that occasion?

In the previous chapter the configuration of Quakerism from 1700 to 1740 was given. About 195 visitors arrived on Nantucket during those forty years, many of them more than once. About seventy of these were noted incidentally in earlier chapters, leaving about 125 to be observed in connection with the Meetings from which they came. Some of these visitors continued their itinerant care well into the 1740-1780 period. In addition, about 200 other new visitors were encountered. Probably about 60 of these have similarly been noted in past chapters leaving about 140 here to portray the evolution of the Society of Friends in the later forty year period. The last six years of this period it was impossible for British Friends to visit in the Ministry. And as Nantucket was exposed to warfare, American public Friends came in fewer numbers. Still there was no falling off in the main of the quantity of visitation. The 140 brought to Benjamin Coffin and Elihu Coleman the picture of 18th century Quakerism in its mature years.

New England Yearly Meeting witnessed only the growth of three new Monthly Meetings after South Kingstown was created in 1743: two were in the frontier district of Maine: Falmouth Monthly Meeting, set up in 1751 by Dover Monthly Meeting; and Yarmouth Monthly Meeting set up by Falmouth in 1761. In addition in 1762 the western portion of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting was set off as Akoakset Monthly Meeting (later Westport.) No further growth took place until 1783 when Providence and Uxbridge Monthly Meetings were created by Smithfield Monthly Meeting.

No one appeared from Yarmouth Monthly Meeting, but Falmouth Monthly Meeting did produce visitors: James Neal in 1772, and in 1777, and Joshua Fulsome in 1777. In the same year (1777) Dover Monthly Meeting sent Mehitable Jenkins. Salem Monthly Meeting did a better job. Elizabeth Dean came in 1755, followed by Patience Dow and Mary Peasley in 1758. Mary was also back in 1762. Joseph Congdon of Charleston arrived in 1763. In 1772 it was the turn of Hannah Smit. In 1777 Hannah Hacker and Richard Holder were the visitors. And finally in 1779, Isaac Varney came down from the Boston area. Amesbury Monthly Meeting (formerly Hampton) had a small contribution. In 1745 Hannah Hoag and Hannah Sweet put in. Esther Hoag visited in 1751 followed by Mary Rowell in 1760. In all some 15 Friends arrived from the Salem Quarterly Meeting area (in this category).

Only two Friends came from Sandwich Quarterly Meeting and visited. The first, Patience Estes came from Pembroke Monthly Meeting in 1757. The other, Timothy Davis of Rochester in Sandwich Monthly Meeting came twice in 1759 and once in 1764. He became the leader of the pro-Revolutionary "Free Quakers" during the war, and was a great worry to Yearly Meeting during those years.

Within Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting, Dartmouth Monthly Meeting naturally should have held first place. Visitors from that place included Susannah Gifford in 1745, Henry Tucker in 1747, Joshua Shearman in 1751 and 1768, Hannah Russell and Peace Russell in 1751, Jonathan Wood in 1751 and 1762, and Joseph Easton in 1751. Jonathan Hussey (one time Nantucketer) arrived in 1764, as did Joseph Rotch in 1775, making a total of nine.

No one visited from Akoakset Monthly Meeting; but nearby Swansea sent a fair number. Deborah Reed of Freetown was the first in 1741. She was back in 1745. And in that year, Joshua White, an Elder came on, accompanying Stephen Chase of Freetown (who returned in 1746, and in 1752.) Isaac Chase and James Luther visited in 1750. In 1761 it was Lydia Southworth, an Elder from Dighton. Hannah Chase put in in 1764 and Patience Brayten arrived in 1777. Smithfield Monthly Meeting contributed even more. Silas Carpenter of Providence appeared in 1745. George Arnold and Moses Farnum made it in 1772 - the latter again in 1775. David Buffum of Providence came twice in 1773. Jonathan Farnum, an Elder, visited in 1775. Asa Aldrich followed in 1777 and a foursome from Menden, Massachusetts, in 1778 belonged to this Monthly Meeting. They were Oziah Wilkinson with Asa Smith and Elizabeth Southworth with Abigail Arnold. This Monthly Meeting actually exceeded Dartmouth sending ten visitors to the Island.

As for Rhode Island Monthly Meeting it was hampered by being occupied by British forces during much of the Revolutionary War period. However, William Anthony Jr. put in in 1750, followed by Anna Redmand in 1768. Mary Callender, later Mitchell, still later resident on Nantucket counts here, though in 1771 she hailed from Philadelphia. Her other visits took place in 1776 and in 1779. Amy Thurston came with her in 1771. Daniel Anthony was the next in 1773. Eunice Barney, ex-Nantucketer visited in 1776 and then the war closed in.

Greenwich Monthly Meeting had its few in the figures of Thomas Comstock in 1764 and in 1771, and Elizabeth Delano in 1768. Thomas Hazard made it twice in 1773 but he was a Kingston Friend. As early as 1747, Robert Knowles and Joseph Casey of Westerly put in from this Monthly Meeting. Knowles was back again in 1773. In 1757 one James Scriven had made it from the south county of Rhode Island. Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting was responsible for forty visitors in this grouping - 59 in all came from New England Quakerism.

New York Yearly Meeting grew slowly at first after the setting up of Purchase Quarterly Meeting in 1745. In 1769, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting was set off from Oblong Monthly Meeting; and in 1778 Saratoga Monthly Meeting from Nine Partners Monthly Meeting. Four years later, in 1782, Creek Monthly Meeting was set up by Nine Partners as well. Saratoga lay north of Nine Partners. Creek to westward. Then in 1783, East Hoosack Monthly Meeting was set up in western Massachusetts by Saratoga Monthly Meeting. The migration from Nantucket into this Hudson River frontier was matched by other New Englanders, particularly by a strong contingent from Providence, Rhode Island. (Smithfield Monthly Meeting). Thus in 1783, it was decided that a new Quarterly Meeting called Nine Partners should be created including the five relatively new Monthly Meetings: Oblong, Nine Partners, Saratoga, Creek and East Hoosac. Further rapid growth in the New York frontier area was due to take place. The first visitor from New York in this grouping was Kezia Parker of Rye (Purchase Monthly Meeting). She was followed by Kezia Wood an Elder of Purchase Monthly Meeting who appeared in 1745, while the first visitor from Nine Partners itself was Lydia Sale who arrived on Nantucket in 1749 when her home Meeting was still part of Purchase Monthly Meeting. In 1768 a Friend of Mamaroneck (Purchase Monthly Meeting), the famous Aaron Lancaster put in. He would be back in 1770, 1777, 1778 twice, and 1779 twice. In 1772 Gaius Talbot of New Milford, Conn. (a member of Oblong Monthly Meeting arrived. In 1778 an even more famous visitor from Nine Partners Monthly Meeting - one David Sands sailed over. He returned the next year and in 1779 Joseph Walters of Cornwall, New York (a member of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting- soon of Creek Monthly Meeting) came on. Probably Aaron Lancaster was one of those promoting emigration to the region. Early Long Island visitors included Hannah Cooke of Flushing Monthly Meeting in 1743 and Richard Titus of Westbury Monthly Meeting who came along in 1758, 1764 and in 1770. David Willets of Flushing appeared in 1770, and John Willis of that Monthly Meeting in 1773. Finally Westbury Monthly Meeting provided Soloman Underhill in 1779. Thus a total of eleven New York Yearly Meeting Friends appeared in this grouping.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was the stage for enormous growth from 1740 to 1780. In 1759 Kingwood Monthly Meeting was set off by Buckingham Monthly Meeting in North Jersey, and then transferred to Shrewsbury Quarterly Meeting. (in 1786.) Only one visitor made it from this area, not from Kingwood nor from Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting, but from Woodbridge which had changed its name to Plainfield Monthly Meeting. The man involved was Robert Willis. He managed four visits - in 1758, in 1764, 1765 and in 1775, when his moving prayer at Nantucket Meeting was put into the Meeting record, just as war came to the Colonies.

Burlington Quarterly Meeting was more productive. In 1754, Abraham Farrington of Rancocas (Burlington Monthly Meeting) put in, followed in 1764 by John Sleeper of Mount Holly in the same Monthly Meeting. In 1772, William Jones brought a final epistle addressed to the Island by John Woolman (who died in York, England in that year). Jones was back in 1775. Rebecca Wright of Upper Springfield (Chesterfield Monthly Meeting) arrived in 1776. In 1783 Upper Springfield would attain Monthly Meeting status. Benjamin Jones followed from Mount Holly in 1777 travelling with George Dillwyn a wellknown Friend of Burlington Local Meeting. Six visitors hailed from Woolman country. No one visited from Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting. Incidentally, Mount Holly was set off from Burlington Meeting in 1776, a new Monthly Meeting, so that Benjamin Jones arrived as emissary of the one new Monthly Meeting in Burlington Quarterly Meeting (in this time span.)

In Salem Quarterly Meeting, two new Monthly Meetings were created (making four new Monthly Meetings for the colony of New Jersey (same as for New York). The south Jersey Meetings were Greenwich in 1770 for the south east part of Salem Monthly Meeting; and Woodbury Monthly Meeting in 1783 for the south part of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting. In contrast to Burlington Quarterly Meeting, the coastal Monthly Meeting then known as Egg Harbor and Cape May Monthly Meeting produced a visitor, one Ann Gaunt in 1760. Mark Reeve of Salem Monthly Meeting arrived in 1757 and in 1771. His companion on the latter trip was Stephen Comfort, probably of a New Jersey Meeting. Haddonfield Monthly Meeting produced Thomas Redman in 1743 and in 1759 William Foster, clerk of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting visited twice, while his wife Hannah (Core) Foster followed along in 1760. Hannah's companion in 1760 was Mercy Redmon also from Haddonfield. In 1769 Sarah Hopkins sailed in from the same Meeting, followed by Joshua Brown of Salem Monthly Meeting in 1770 and in 1777. In 1771 Joshua Thompson, an Elder, put in as well, presumably from this Quarterly Meeting area. Thus seventeen New Jersey Friends appeared in this grouping.

Bucks Quarterly Meeting (exclusive of Kingwood Monthly Meeting in New Jersey) did not change in the forty years under question. Ann Schoolfield of Falls Monthly Meeting visited in 1750, while Samuel Eastburn of Solebury in Buckingham Monthly Meeting followed in 1760. Then in 1766 Thomas Ross arrived from Wrightstown Monthly Meeting. John Simpson in 1774 is listed simply as from Bucks County (probably from Buckingham Monthly Meeting.)

Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting the next down the line, had undergone growth to the extent that in 1786 it would divide into two. Within the city of Philadelphia in 1772, the original Monthly Meeting divided into three: the two new bodies known as Northern District and Southern District Monthly Meetings - a pattern which would be followed later in New York and Baltimore, as well as on Nantucket. The amount of business transacted as much as anything, motivated this multiplication of Monthly Meetings. In 1782, Abington Monthly Meeting would set up Horsham Monthly Meeting. Six members of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting arrived in the early years. First there was Abraham Moss in 1740, followed by William Brown and Robert Logan in 1741. Hannah Jenks visited in 1742. Andrew Cromer arrived in 1743 and John Arnitt in 1747 (with John Woollman). Then in 1752, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting sent Samuel Spencer and in 1755 William Logan (second of that famous family). In 1756 Susannah Brown, wife of William, also of Philadelphia, but previously of Nottingham

Monthly Meeting, made the visit, In 1773 Abel Thomas of Exeter Monthly Meeting - formerly Oley Monthly Meeting (on the frontier as it were) put in. Already in 1751 Jane (Hughes) Ellis (born in Wales) had visited from the old Oley Monthly Meeting. With Abel Thomas came Samuel Lee probably an Elder of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting itself. In 1774, Northern District Monthly Meeting contributed Samuel Smith and Rebecca Scattergood. Also in 1774 Charles West, an Elder, probably of this Meeting arrived. Lastly in 1779 a Friend of Upper Merion in Haverford Monthly Meeting visited with Abraham Griffith. It would seem that neither Abington, nor Gwynedd, nor Richland, nor Southern District were represented in the visitors of 1740 to 1780.

Chester Quarterly Meeting also divided in 1758 when Kennett, Duck Creek, Newgarden, Nottingham, Bradford, Sadsbury, Hopewell, Fairfax (set up by Hopewell in 1745), Warrington, (set up by Fairfax in 1750) and Pipe Creek, set up by Hopewell in 1772) were released to form Western Quarterly Meeting. This body extending as it did from mid-Pennsylvania into Northern Virginia proved both too large and to unwieldly to leave as such. In 1776 it was divided into two again as Fairfax and Warrington Quarterly Meeting composed of Hopewell, Fairfax, Warrington and Pipe Creek Monthly Meetings. In 1780, Warrington Monthly Meeting divided setting up Menallen Monthly Meeting and in 1782 Crooked Run Monthly Meeting was set up for the frontier west of Hopewell Monthly Meeting. By 1786 this Meeting would set up Redstone Monthly Meeting across the Appalachian Mountains in Western Pennsylvania. Quakerism was moving westward as America took that turning. The year before (1786) Fairfax and Warrington Quarterly Meeting would divide again and each portion take part of the name. Obviously the growth was phenominal, as Pennsylvania Friends multiplied and moved southward and westward. Nantucket apparently had no hand in this migration, though its emigrants joined in on the Carolina end of the Shenandoah trail southwards.

As for the original Chester Quarterly Meeting, in 1750 Kennett (formerly Newark Monthly Meeting) created Wilmington Monthly Meeting and in 1763 Goshen Monthly Meeting set off Uwchlan Monthly Meeting for its northern border. We next look at visitors from this area, from Western Quarterly Meeting, and that of Fairfax and Warrington. In 1743, Joseph Hoskins of Chester Monthly Meeting visited, he being husband of the more famous Jane (Fenn) Hoskins, who had visited Nantucket already at least twice. Newark Monthly Meeting provided Robert Lewis and Nathaniel Lewis in 1748. In 1750, Lydia Mendenhall appeared from the original Chester Monthly Meeting. In 1752 William Horn (born in Sussex in old England) visited carrying a Minute of Derby Monthly Meeting. 1755 marked the visit of Thomas Goodwin of Goshen Monthly Meeting. In 1763 it was the turn of Anna Newlin of Concord Monthly Meeting and in 1768 Thomas Charlton of Kennett Monthly Meeting visited. In 1773 one visitor was William Matthews of Warwick, Pennsylvania, Member of Warrington Monthly Meeting. Susannah Lightfoot who visited in 1774, is listed as from Chester County (possibly Derby Monthly Meeting). In 1776 John Perry of Wilmington Monthly Meeting was the visitor. Thus for this counting the following Monthly Meetings went unrepresented:

Uwchlan, Duck Creek, Nottingham, New Garden, Bradford, Gadsbury, Hopewell, Fairfax, Pipe Creek and Monallen. In any case, twenty-nine Pennsylvania Friends got to Nantucket (in this second grouping). Mention should be made of the schismatic Free Quaker grouping in Philadelphia found in 1781 and in sympathy with groups in Maryland and Massachusetts. Altogether, Maryland Quakerism continued under its semi-autonomous General Meeting - as before noticed - not unlike the Ireland National Half years Meeting. No one visited from the two Monthly Meetings on the eastern shore, nor from the three on the western shore. Gunpowder Monthly Meeting evolved in 1739 from West River Monthly Meeting, and Deer Creek from Nottingham Monthly Meeting in 1760 (transferred to West River Quarterly Meeting in 1761). The original Monthly Meeting at Clifts faded about 1740, while that at West River lasted only twenty years longer. No one visited from Virginia Yearly Meeting. Northampton Monthly Meeting on the eastern shore disappeared about 1760, and about 1763 Surrey Monthly Meeting was reorganized as Blackwater Monthly Meeting. Chuckatuck became Nancemond Monthly Meeting, and the Isle of Wight Monthly Meeting. Here Lower Quarterly Meeting continued to be held. Upper Quarterly Meeting composed of Henrico and Cedar Creek Monthly Meetings set off Camp Creek Monthly Meeting about 1745, and South River Monthly Meeting on the Shenandoah trail in 1757.

North Carolina Quakerism in contrast was in close contact with Nantucket. On the coast to replace Northampton Monthly Meeting in eastern shore Virginia, a new Monthly Meeting of that name was set up by Pasquotank Monthly Meeting (soon, however, to be known as Rich Square Monthly Meeting). Charleston Monthly Meeting, a part of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, would be laid down in contrast (1786). London Yearly Meeting had already freed itself from oversight on the Carolina coast. It took longer for Philadelphia Friends to step out, withdrawing first from Fredericksburg Monthly Meeting in 1768 (created by Charleston Monthly Meeting in 1754) and then from Fredericksburg Monthly Meeting in 1770 (then a part of North Carolina Yearly Meeting). They liberated Friends in Piedmont, South Carolina to become Bush River Monthly Meeting in 1770 and in 1773 this Meeting set up Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting for Friends in Georgia. And then in 1782 Fredericksburg Monthly Meeting was laid down to Bush River Monthly Meeting so the Philadelphia surge southward overleaped North Carolina and then acknowledged that North Carolina Yearly Meeting should have charge of the deep south Meetings.

By 1782 some Friends from Nantucket had arrived there via Piedmont, Carolina specifically at Bush River Monthly Meeting and even in Wrightsborough Monthly Meeting. The sweep of this Quaker colonizing venture staggers the imagination.

But meanwhile, not only did Fredericksburg Monthly Meeting fade (and Charleston Monthly Meeting) but so did Dunns Creek in the Pine Barrens in 1771, and Carvers Creek would not last as long (1760), nor would Core Sound, Bush River nor Wrightsborough prove permanent. The invasion of the deep south was like a dispersing wave of an alpine sea of fog sweeping into inhospitable valleys and then dispersing.

The old coastal region of North Carolina Quakerism was another more solid thing - as was its Piedmont settlement. The latter was essentially Philadelphian in planning and execution. Friends moving south from Hopewell Monthly Meeting, Virginia toward south River in Roanoke County and then on to Cane Creek in North Carolina, saw a Monthly Meeting of that name appear in 1751. Three years later

they founded New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guildford County, destined to serve as the main focus of the 1771-1774 Nantucket migration southwards. Meanwhile, in 1759, those two Piedmont Monthly Meetings were allowed by Eastern Quarterly Meeting (formerly called Carolina Quarterly Meeting) to constitute Western Quarterly Meeting. It was this Quarterly Meeting which welcomed Fredericksburg Monthly Meeting in 1768 and Bush River in 1770 and Wrightsborough in 1773. Also in that year Cane Creek set off Centre Monthly Meeting; and in 1778 Deep River Monthly Meeting was set off by New Garden Monthly Meeting. By 1787 North Carolina Yearly Meeting first gathered in the Piedmont region at Centre Meeting, so strong had become the inland area.

Meanwhile on the coast, eastern Quarterly Meeting came to consist of Purquimons, Pasquotank, Rich Square, Contentnea (which had evolved from Falling Creek Monthly Meeting and absorbed its strength), Coresound and Dunns Creek Monthly Meetings. By 1787 Western Quarterly Meeting would divide, followed in turn by Eastern Quarterly Meeting in 1788. George Fox would have been amazed at the vitality of the religious movement he started in North Carolina over a century earlier.

By 1780, all the West Indies Meetings had, in great contrast to this activity, folded. About 1770 they marked their last gasp. No longer did Friends, Ministers, include this area on their itineraries. Incidentally, all the European Continental Meetings except one in Amsterdam, showed a similar inclination to die. But only a decade or so ahead led to the founding of both a France Yearly Meeting and a German Yearly Meeting - both Yearly Meetings both today somehow reincarnated and alive.

The visitors from the Carolina region were few but important. Joseph Skinner of the original Perquimons Monthly Meeting arrived in 1768, William Coffin Jr., ex-Nantucketer came back in 1774, as did Stephen Gardner in 1777. In 1778 two Friends, presumably from Centre Monthly Meeting; Joseph Smith and his companion, Snow Randall appeared. They completed the Carolina contingent.

Some 18 British Friends got to Nantucket (including three from Ireland) which was a reasonable proportion. Abigail Darby of London was present in 1741 as was Obadiah Butler from the same metropolis. In 1743 John Haslam of Yorkshire visited. And in 1744 it was the case of Christopher Willson of Pardshawhall Monthly Meeting, Cumberland, who was back in 1757. James Thornton who came from Dorsetshire arrived in 1751. In 1754 Catharine (Payton) Paxton arrived from Bewdley Monthly Meeting, Worcestershire. In 1757 John Tasker of Oxfordshire was present. Then in 1761 Jane (Rowlandson) Crosfield of Kendall Monthly Meeting, County Westmoreland appeared. Two years later Abial (Featherstone) Hall of County Cumberland was the visitor. In 1770 Norwhich Monthly Meeting was represented by Joseph Oxley. In 1774 Robert Walker of Brighouse Monthly Meeting (Leeds) in Yorkshire was the male English visitor, bringing Elizabeth Robinson of Richmond, near London with him. Morris Birkbeck followed also in 1774 from Yorkshire as did Mary Lever, presumably from

London itself. They were the last under the wire, as it were.

From Ireland National Half Years Meeting were to be found Eleazer Shelden of Dublin Monthly Meeting in 1744: Susanna Patton from Waterford Monthly Meeting in 1761: Samuel Neale of Cork Monthly Meeting in 1771.

In America, after the dead loss of West Indian Quakerism is discounted, the number of Monthly Meetings had grown from 60 to 80, while four new Quarterly Meetings were functioning. In other words, the Quaker world had doubled from 1700 to 1780 in America. In Britain (including Europe) it had probably halved. In the next forty years, that is from 1780 to 1820, the American Quaker scene was carried forward with tremendous vigor. (no less than three additional Yearly Meetings were functioning by 1821). Many older Meetings were, however, weakening - notably the Nantucket Meeting). But this story lies ahead, hopefully in another series of Nantucket tape profiles.